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THE STORY

OF THE

LIFE OF PIUS THE NINTH.

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BY

T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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NELLI BY FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES.—NEY'S MISSION TO ROME.—NAPOLEON'S LETTER TO HIM.—HAS NO EFFECT.—DECLARATIONS OF THE POPE'S DESPOTIC INTENTIONS.—ACQUIESCENCE OF FRANCE.

MAZZINI and his colleagues, in the hopeless attempt to found a Republican Government on the ruins of the papal authority in Rome, said, in their proclamation to the Romans, that "Whoso touched, in the guise of an enemy, the sacred soil of Rome was accursed of God!" It was probably the only sentiment he could have expressed in which the Pontiff and his brethren of the Sacred College would have fully agreed with him! And in truth, both parties might point to the issue of more than one such tentative in justification of the assertion. France had succeeded in her enterprise. She had conquered the little band of enthusiasts, who, in a city divided against itself, had attempted to hold its crumbling old walls against her! The enterprise was not a difficult one; and no man, let his political sympathies be what they may, will deny that all the heroism, all the glory, was on the side of those who fought desperately and hopelessly to resist the foreign invader.

But if the military difficulties of General Oudinot were not great, the political difficulties of those who

sent him on his inglorious enterprise were so. And they began to show themselves to be so, as soon as ever the object Oudinot had been sent to achieve had been attained. No nation ever, perhaps, found itself in so thoroughly and irremediably false a position. Had Austria marched on Rome and put down the republicans and their make-believe government by force, her course would have been straight and simple before her. She would have conveyed back the Pope in triumph to his capital; she would have sent as much of her material force as was necessary to render the will and the fiat of the Pontiff and his counsellors absolutely irresistible; and as soon as this work had been thoroughly accomplished, she would have retired. Such a restoration, so operated, the French said would be "brutal." Much suffering would have ensued, much vengeance would have been wreaked, and the Pope would have been replaced on his throne by *brute* force. The assertion of France as to the character of the work which would have been done by Austria (or possibly by Naples, in whose hands the business would assuredly have been done in a far more "brutal" manner), if she, France, had not intervened, cannot be denied; but Austria, in acting thus "brutally," would have

been acting truthfully. She would have been doing what she really believed, and what all the world perfectly well knew that she believed, to be right and in accordance with the best interests of humanity, as well as in accordance with her own professions, traditions, and principles.

France did not act "brutally," but her action, her professions, her policy, were untruthful; and they were so much at variance with the position she held, and the professions she made at home, that they were scandalous.

And the difficulties, which seemed to furnish an apparent fulfilment of the curse uttered by Mazzini, began to develop themselves as soon as ever the French army found itself within the walls. Of course, the triumph at Gaeta was complete—the triumph, but not the contentment! "Well, you have accomplished your task—gloriously accomplished it! There is but one step more to be made! Complete your work! Why delay?"

But France had declared before all Europe that she had gone to Rome to moderate the return from anarchy to authority—from Mazzini to Pius the Ninth—from Gaeta to Rome—*and* to support her own influence in Italy—the latter being the truth,

the former a pretext. And France knew perfectly well that such restoration pure, simple, and immediate as was desired at Gaeta, would not have been effected with any of those characteristics of moderation which she had announced it as her mission to ensure.

The French Government had already been met by the first symptoms of the difficulty that awaited them in this matter of moderating the accompaniments of the papal restoration. Before the capture of Rome, the French ambassadors had urged the Pope to publish a manifesto promising, as Farini says, a civilised and humane, if not a Liberal Government; but his Holiness had replied that respect for his own dignity and authority would not permit him to announce determinations the merit of which might be attributed by the world to the foreigners who had counselled him and assisted him, and that he could publish no manifesto to his people till the French should have fully restored his government in Rome. Such a publication, his Holiness urged, "would appear not the spontaneous act of a free and independent sovereign, but rather a bargain imposed on him by his protectors. Let them complete the work, and he would then talk about it! Let them cause

to disappear, as it was indeed high time, all the traces of the revolution! Let them truly restore the rule of the Pope, and then the Pope would take such steps as would become a Pope!" Much indignation began to be felt at Gaeta because the French, since they had made themselves masters of Rome in the interests of the Pope, did not at once, and without delay, proceed to replace the Papal Government in the full enjoyment of its rights—did not instantly, and with public solemnity, re-install in their places all the servants of the Apostolic Government, and all the armorial escutcheons and other such visible signs of supremacy.

Since, however, as Farini remarks, the French had been led by their own errors into the necessity of either doing violence to the sovereignty of the Pope for the sake of pleasing the people and caring for their own dignity, or of causing the affliction of the people and injuring their own reputation for the sake of being agreeable to the Pope, the final triumph of the Court at Gaeta was perfectly certain."

In Rome, no illusion seems to have been cherished on this head after the entry of the French into the city. A severe censorship, which permitted the

expression of no liberal views or aspirations, was established. The picture of the social aspect of Rome at that time given by the historian I have so frequently quoted, Farini, is remarkable: "Priests and friars and their supporters were continually going about in quest of adhesions, and it was bad for those who expressed any liberal aspirations. French generals and commissaries seemed like *cavalieri serventi* of the priests. At sight of a cassock, of a prelate's mantle, of a cowl, they fell into ecstasies of delight, and went off into compliments and caresses without end!"

There was a *Te Deum* at St. Peter's; and a sufficiently singular and notable ceremonial it must have been. It was on the 15th of July. The artillery—that same artillery which had so recently been used to batter down the walls of Rome and the defenders of them—was firing salvoes of joy. The bells—those same bells which had so recently with despairing clang called the citizens to the breach—were ringing out festive peals. All the troops were marched to St. Peter's; generals, colonels, ambassadors were swarming there. And Cardinal Castracani intoned the hymn of praise and thanksgiving. Then Cardinal Tosti preached a sermon addressed to General

Oudinot—to the liberator of Rome, who had saved it from the horrors of war, and purged it of monsters who were a disgrace to the human race. Admiration for his beneficent acts was mingled, said the Cardinal, with the tears of all good men for *the French blood which had been shed!*

Then Oudinot, in the church, got up and spoke!—a regular parliament, as Farini says, in open church! Words of course. Not to him, but to France, the merit of the enterprise! To Providence must be ascribed the victory which had liberated Rome from the *foreign yoke* (!) and restored the temporal government of the Pope amid the applause of the whole Catholic world. Then the Cardinal replied that the words of the General were dictated by the Spirit of God, who would bless him and France!

It must be owned that the strange and monstrous spectacle of Voltairian France thus turned crusader for the suppression of those liberties at Rome which she had just plunged into revolution to secure for herself, was a sight as revolting to every sentiment of truthfulness, honour, and justice, as was ever presented to the world. And the French Government was by no means insensible to the odiousness of the position it had assumed. France would fain, had it

been possible, have attained the real object of her conduct, without disjoining it from that which she had so loudly declared to be her purpose. France was now striving hard to attain this; but it was difficult. She would fain have had Pius the Ninth return to Rome and inaugurate a Liberal, or at least a Liberalising Government under her own tutelage. But this did not in any degree suit the views of Pius the Ninth; his Liberalism, which had never been of a calibre calculated to fall in with the ideas of French republicans, had now entirely disappeared. And it did not at all suit his feelings of Italian patriotism (which, despite all that had come and gone, he was by no means without), and still less his notions of his own papal dignity and authority, to submit to any such tutelage.

His Liberalism had vanished, never more to return. But it is not, I think, just to attribute this, as it has very generally been attributed, altogether to alarm and to that ill-temper which arises—and with especial force in the case of a weak and vain man—from hurt feelings, from disappointment in his attempts to be beneficent, and from what represented itself to his mind as the "ingratitude" of his subjects. Doubtless all these causes contributed

somewhat to that sudden and very violent change in the man and in his tendencies and conduct, which has ever since been a subject of astonishment and interest to the world. But the main cause of this remarkable change, of this return on his steps and eager advance in the opposite direction, is to be found in the fact that he had discovered something of which he was before ignorant. He had ascended the throne with the intention of being a Liberal Pope. What it was to be a Pope he understood with sufficient accuracy. But he was almost wholly ignorant of what it was to be Liberal. He had now discovered the incompatibility of the two things. And as soon as ever that discovery was made, no shade of doubt or hesitation remained in his mind. There has been no such extraordinary change in the man as the world has wondered at. Nor was there any insincerity in the beneficent intentions with which he mounted the throne. They were alloyed—and what human virtue is unalloyed!—by an inordinate craving for applause and admiration, but they were benevolent and sincere. Only they were nourished under a mistake. And the mistake was now discovered! The same discovery would have produced the same result at any moment of his

career. He had told his subjects, as has been seen, at the outset of his reign that he intended to hand down the papal power to his successor intact as he had received it from his predecessors. And this intention was the paramount, the ruling, the one unalterable intention of the man's inmost heart and conscience. Not even for the applause of men would he forego or knowingly endanger that!

The subjects of the Apostolic See are grievously suffering, terribly misgoverned. He is willing to make any change, to do anything—that shall not touch the sacred ark. But the Church itself is endangered. Modifications are absolutely necessary to enable it to continue to exist in the world. *Deus providebit!* But some politic concessions—? *Non possumus!*

An absolutely sincere *non possumus!* He had found out what these suggestions of the world were to lead to. And no consideration could or should induce him ever again to advance one step on *that* path! He had smelt the blood of a slaughtered Church within the shambles to which they were driving him, and no driving could any more urge him to advance a step in *that* direction! *Non possumus!*

The reputation of France, too, added to the difficulty of the task she had set herself. Rome did not much like or trust her protector. She would far rather have been assisted and restored by Austria, or even by Naples. And for the nonce, and for the immediately coming years Austria would have been the more convenient and thorough-going friend. But looking farther ahead, it will still be to the eldest son of the Church that the Church in her oldest age will turn. France will want a Pope, though maybe one of her own making, when the time shall have come that Austria will want none.

And France wanted a Pope of her own now! She did not want a very Liberal one either. Frenchmen were one thing, Romans quite another. But she wanted such a show of Liberalism as would have permitted her to cloak before the eyes of Europe the nakedness of her invasion with some rag of the veil she had provided for the purpose. And the Pope would not help her in this! If he would pretend a little Liberalism? The Church never hesitates to pretend for a holy purpose! But Pius did not trust his friends sufficiently to accommodate them in this respect. It is towards the shambles that you are driving me! *Non possumus!*

Shortly after the entry of the French troops the Pope published the following manifesto :

" Pius the Ninth to his well-loved subjects. God has lifted up His arm, and has commanded the tempestuous sea of anarchy and impiety to be at rest! He has led Catholic arms to sustain the rights of trampled humanity, of the Faith attacked, and those of the Holy See and of our sovereignty. Eternal praise be to Him, who in the midst of His wrath does not forget mercy. Well-beloved subjects, if in the vortex of the tremendous events which have happened, our heart has been saturated with sorrow at the thought of so many evils suffered by the Church, by religion and by yourselves, not for that has the affection which has always loved and continues to love you been diminished. We eagerly look forward to the day which shall bring us once again among you. And when it shall have arrived, we shall return to you with the earnest desire to bring you comfort, and with the wish to occupy ourselves to the utmost of our power for your welfare, applying difficult remedies to exceedingly great evils, and consoling good subjects, who, while they look for such institutions as shall meet their needs,

desire, as we desire, to see the liberty and independence of the supreme Pontiff, which is so necessary to the tranquillity of the Catholic world, guaranteed. In the meantime, for the re-ordering of public affairs, we proceed to name a Commission, which, furnished with full powers and assisted by a Ministry, shall regulate the government of the State. That benediction of the Lord, which we have ever, even when far from you, implored for you, we this day invoke with even increased fervour; and it is a great comfort to our heart to hope that all those who have chosen to render themselves incapable of enjoying the fruit of this blessing by their misguided conduct, may make themselves deserving of it by a sincere and consistent repentance."

The French had been anxious for the Pope to speak. He had now spoken, but his utterance contained nothing of what they wanted to hear. There was no word as to the nature and form of government which he intended to adopt. There was only a very unmistakable hint that he should be glad to be quit of their tutelage and surveillance. Nor, as Farini remarks, could the result of the French policy have

been other than it was. "Nor," he writes, "with all the boasting they had made, and continue to make (respecting the Liberalising influence they should exercise over the restored Pope), boasting which took a much stronger tone at Paris than that which it took at Rome, and much stronger at Rome than that which it took at Gaeta, could they hope that the Pope would allow himself to be conducted to Rome without much greater guarantees for his own independence and power, to their own greater humiliation, or would return thither as long as they gave any indication of an intention to protect him after their fashion and dictate to him."

In short, the little Court at Gaeta perceived clearly enough that the insincerity of France had had the effect of making it the master of the situation. France had declared that she had taken Rome from the Romans to restore it to its legitimate sovereign, the Pope. She could not in the face of Europe avoid so restoring it. She could not, for very shame, even if it would have suited her own views to do so, which of course it would not, give the city back into the hands of the revolutionaries. And the Pope and his counsellors had only to hold off, practise a masterly inactivity, and bide their time, in order to

return unconditionally and work their own will in the Eternal City.

The position of the French in the meantime was not a pleasant or a dignified one at Rome. Here is the curious account which Farini gives of the social condition and aspects of Rome at that period.

"The Romans," he says, "took little heed of the manifesto, and continued to treat the French with hatred and contempt. For though they had all the force of the army in their hands, and full power over the citizens, who were deprived of every liberty, and though the clergy were swelling with pride and honours of all sorts, nevertheless continual injuries and violences were committed at Rome against both the priests and the French soldiers, and the temper of the city was very bad towards both the one and the other. So much was this the case, that you might hear in the streets the same bitter abuse against the clergy and against the Pope and Cardinals, that might have been heard at the high tide of the Mazzinian rule; and the copies of the papal manifesto were torn down and defiled, and the French officers met no face that was not bitter and hostile. In the streets they were alone; alone at the theatres; alone in every place of public resort.

Not a salutation, not a hand was offered to them. The very men who paid court to them in private, did not dare to show any courtesy to them in public. Any one who did so was pointed at. Any woman who looked at any one of them otherwise than sternly, was run down without mercy. They suffered much from all this. But inasmuch as the discipline of the army was complete, and many of the officers and soldiers sufficiently civilised to understand the reasons that caused this treatment, they supported in peace things against which soldiers ordinarily are quick to rebel. And while the generals and superior officers attributed the hostility of the people to the perfidy of the revolutionists, and considered themselves to have deserved the gratitude of the Romans for the enterprise they had taken in hand, those in the lower ranks of the army deemed that the enterprise needed an excuse. The former affected ostentatious devotion towards the priests; the latter expressed their contempt for them. It occurred frequently that when in the streets some insult was offered to some prelate or priest in the sight of French subalterns or soldiers, the latter, instead of taking the part of the insulted ecclesiastic, joined noisily in the laugh against him. And it was common to hear them in

the cafés and streets loud in their abuse of the Clerical Government and in insults to the clergy. And on the other hand, the clergy, who were conscious of all this, and who lived in constant suspicion of the opinions and conduct of the French, grumbled at them in devout circles, and were pleased that the people thus felt ill-will against their own allies and defenders."

It is to be observed that this remarkable and certainly truthful picture of the social condition of Rome at the time of the French occupation, sufficiently disposes of the official talk—perhaps the official delusion—that those who were opposed to the Papal Government were "a few factious men," "strangers from other countries and cities," "a sect of anarchists," and the like. The body of the population, the vast majority of the people, almost all who were not bound to the Church and the Court by ties of interest, saw with unconquerable and unconcealed dislike the restoration of Clerical government. It is true that a comparatively small number of the citizens was willing to follow Mazzini to the logical consequences of their own doctrines, and much less to those of his political and social doctrines. At the time of the elevation of Pius the Ninth, they had

been as ignorant as he as to the absolute impossibility of the Liberal Papacy which he and they had both hoped to realise. The Pope had by this time found out the truth. The people had only partially found it out. They were not sure that such a scheme was utterly and for ever impossible. Consequently they were not sure and concordant as to their wishes. If the *sint ut sunt* necessity could have been at once clearly expounded to them; if they had been made to understand that the only alternative before them was the utter destruction of the papal temporal power, whether in favour of a republic, or a confederation, or a monarchy of united Italy on the one hand, and the restoration of the Clerical Government, *pur et simple*, on the other hand, there would have been no hesitation in making the choice. At all events, they have now attained the same amount of knowledge and certainty of conviction upon this point that Pius the Ninth has!

On the 31st of July, the Commission named by the Holy Father in accordance with the manifesto, which has been cited *in extenso*, arrived in Rome. It consisted of the Cardinals Della Genga, Vannicelli, and Altieri. They immediately published a proclamation, in which it was promised that "the Holy

Father was occupying his truly beneficent mind with providing those ameliorations and those institutions which may be compatible with his dignity, with the supreme power of the Pontiff, with the nature of this State, the conservation of which interests the entire Catholic world, and with the real necessities of his well-beloved subjects."

Their Eminences, and the Pontiff, in whose name they were speaking, cannot be accused of attempting to deceive the people whose allegiance they were claiming. Few restored sovereigns have ever returned to their thrones with promises more accurately in accordance with their real intentions!

On the 3rd of August another proclamation was issued, nullifying all the acts of the recent Government; and on the following day another, setting forth that, although the proclamation of the preceding day would, if unmodified, have the effect of rendering worthless all the paper money which had been issued by the late pretended Government, the Holy Father, taking into consideration that such a result would cause the ruin of many families, especially of the poorer sort, had decreed that such notes should have currency at the rate of sixty-five per cent. of their nominal value.

France, finding the disagreeable nature of her position, began to be urgent with the Holy Father to take some of the steps which might serve to justify her intervention, and prove the liberalising influence of her counsels. The French diplomatists — there were two of them, De Courcelles and De Reyneval—on the 19th of August presented a memorandum to Antonelli setting forth the views of France, and what she desired of the Pope, "the articles of the Statuto confirmed anew; elected Assemblies for the provinces and communes; secularisation of the administration!" and other small matters of the like kind. Was the French Government really so little informed of the circumstances of the case, and of the minds of the Pope and his counsellors, as to imagine that there was any chance that such demands should be accorded? Or was she merely acting a comedy for the benefit of Europe, and saying the appropriate thing to be said in the *rôle* which she had assumed? At all events, Antonelli must have smiled grimly to himself as he put the text of the memorandum into his pigeon-hole!

Then the French Napoleon of the day had sent Colonel Ney to Rome to see if he could expedite matters, and wrote to him pointing out that France

had never sent her soldiers to Rome except under the idea that the Pope would do as he was bid in the matter of Liberal institutions, and how sorry he was that the army of occupation did not find its quarters so pleasant as could be wished. "I have heard with much pain that even in respect of its physical comforts the army has not been treated as it deserves. I trust that a stop will be put to such a state of things. Nothing ought to be spared for the due and fitting lodgment of our troops." Since it was so important that they should make themselves comfortable, it would seem that there was small chance of their going away very soon! Ney went to the office of the *Official Gazette* to insist that Napoleon's letter should be printed in its columns. Finding that it did not appear, he returned on the 14th of September accompanied by General Rostolan, who had replaced Oudinot, to insist afresh on its publication. "They demanded and insisted energetically," says the editor (who chanced to be that same Coppi, who afterwards published the very valuable annals from which I quote), "but the Cardinals of the governing Commission objected to the publication; and—it was not published. Indeed the letter did not produce any effect, or have any consequence!"

The incident is only worth mentioning as a very significant, if small, indication of the position assumed by the Pope and his adherents towards their much-mistrusted friends.

On the 31st of August Antonelli replied to the memorandum of the French diplomatists by a note in which he speaks of the intention of the Holy Father to give his subjects such institutions as, having regard to anything that might become a pretext for the return of disorder, are *not inconsistent with the nature of the Pontifical Government.* "The basis of these institutions," says the Secretary, "are such, as while they assure all fitting liberty (*convenienti libertà*) to the subjects of the Holy See, assure also at the same time the liberty and independence of the Head of the Church, which it is obligatory on him to preserve intact in face of the Universe."

And a few days later, on the 12th of September, the Pope promulgated a decree, which in fact replaces the foundations of governmental authority on the basis on which they rested in the time of Gregory the Sixteenth.

If it is to be believed that the French Government had, previously to this, laboured under any

illusion as to the intentions of the Holy Father with regard to the spirit of the government he proposed to institute on his restoration, it would be childish to suppose that they could have continued to entertain such subsequently to this declaration.

On the 18th of September the Holy Father published an amnesty; but it was so heavily loaded with restrictions and exceptions, that any good effect as a means of conciliating the affections of the people was entirely destroyed.

The French Government wrote to their representatives that these declarations of the Holy Father and his Ministers filled them with "dolorous surprise!" But in the French Chamber the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 17th of October told the Deputies that "it had never been the intention of the French Government to abuse the force of which it disposed for the constraining of the will of the Holy Father." And the conduct of the Government was, after a three days' debate, approved by a vote of 469 against 180. It became tolerably clear that the Pope, as regarded his subjects, would be allowed to act as it might seem good to him. But it was not by any means clear when they and he would be liberated from his "liberators."

CHAPTER IV.

THE POPE THINKS OF RETURNING TO ROME.—LEAVES GAETA.—SOJOURNS AT PORTICI.—HIS EXCURSION TO NAPLES.—FAVOURABLE RECEPTION BY THE PEOPLE.—THE POPE LEAVES PORTICI.—PARTING WITH THE KING OF NAPLES.—THE POPE'S BLESSING.—ARRIVAL AT ROME.—CONSISTORY OF THE 20TH OF APRIL.—ENGLISH CATHOLIC EPISCOPACY.—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.—RETURN TO DESPOTISM.—WHY PRIESTS ARE NECESSARILY UNFORGIVING.—PERSECUTION.—PUNISHMENT OF THE DISAFFECTED.

It having become sufficiently clear that whatever memorandum the French diplomatists might hand to the Papal Government—that is to Antonelli—might without any danger be consigned to the waste-paper basket; that no amount of "dolorous surprise" that might be felt by the French Government was in the least likely to move them to any active interference with the Holy Father's carrying on his own government in his own fashion, and that even imperial letters to "my dear Ney" might

safely be treated by the editor of the *Official Gazette* as editors are wont to treat troublesome and unwelcome correspondents—all this, I say, having been made sufficiently manifest and unmistakable, the Pontiff thought that the time was come when he might venture to leave his refuge at Gaeta.

He did so on the 4th of September, after having resided there nine months and nine days. And the contrast between the circumstances which attended his departure and those which had characterised his arrival there, was such as to emphasise the change which had taken place in the fortunes of the Papacy.

Attended by the King and Queen of Naples, by five Cardinals, and by a brilliant suite, he embarked on board a Neapolitan steamer, which was followed by two other vessels carrying the same flag, by two Spanish ships, and one French one. And in the afternoon of the same day he reached Portici, where the royal palace had been prepared for his reception. Nothing could exceed the demonstrations of reverence and affection with which he was received by all classes of the population. He made several excursions to Naples, and on the 6th of September celebrated Mass in the cathedral there. On the 9th he imparted his solemn benediction to the Neapolitan

troops from the balcony of the royal palace in Naples. On the 16th he did the same for the people, and it was calculated that fifty thousand persons were present in the vast piazza in front of the palace. Afterwards he visited many of the churches of the city and a variety of public entertainments, and was everywhere received after the fashion so dear to his eyes and ears!

No doubt it was true, as he complains in his addresses and proclamations, that his heart had been saddened by the defection of his subjects, and the loss of their affection. No doubt his ears missed painfully the tribute of thundering applause to which he had been accustomed. But now he was emerging from his eclipse, the incense of flattery and the music of applause was once again offered to him; and though it was to be of a different sort and quality from that on which he had hitherto feasted, it was never more to fail him! A journal was published at Naples during his stay in the neighbourhood for the express purpose of chronicling his doings and the festivities and rejoicings that were organised in his honour. From the 30th of October to the 2nd of November the Pope was occupied in a little excursion to the mountain-enclosed, ancient

little city of Benevento, which with a small amount of territory around it, forms a portion of the Apostolic dominions, though it is surrounded on all sides by Neapolitan territory.

Pius the Ninth remained all that winter at Portici, not quitting it till the beginning of April, 1850, to return at length to Rome. The night of the 4th he passed at Caserta, and that of the 5th at Sessa. The next day Ferdinand the Second accompanied him as far as the frontier of the kingdom of Naples. There the monarch descended from his carriage, kneeled before the Pontiff, kissed his feet, and asked for his benediction. The Pope said: "I bless you! I bless your family! I bless your kingdom! I bless your people! I know not how to express to you my gratitude for the hospitality you have given me!" "I have but done the duty of a Christian!" said the King. "Your filial affection," returned the Pontiff, "has been great and sincere!" And there can be no doubt that Pius spoke his thanks and blessings in all the sincerity of his heart. But the Neapolitans might well conceive that the upshot irresistibly proved the truth of the well-known and wide-spread superstition to the effect that Pius the Ninth has "the evil eye," which brings ill-luck

to all it looks on. For never surely was so emphatic a blessing so signally followed by the exact reverse of all the Pontiff prayed Heaven to grant!

That same evening Pius arrived at Terracina, where he remained two days. On the 9th he went to Frosinone, on the 10th to Velletri, and on the 12th of April he made his solemn, and surely his triumphal, entry into Rome. Eight Cardinals accompanied him, as well as the whole body of foreign diplomatists, and he was received with very general acclamations.

On the 20th the Pope held a Consistory, in which he pronounced a discourse solemnly thanking by name and severally all the Powers which had assisted him to suppress the rebellion in his States, and had enabled him to return to his throne. He especially called attention to the fact that even the non-Catholic Powers had contributed to the maintenance of his authority, wherein we are specially called upon to admire that divine Providence which has for so many ages destined a place in which the Supreme Pontiff may freely exercise the authority which God has committed to him.

The first public act, however, which he did after his return, was to erect a Catholic archbishopric at

Westminster, with twelve suffragan bishops named from the principal cities of the kingdom—a measure which gave rise to the celebrated Catholic Titles Bill, passed the following year, and instantly allowed to become obsolete.

A variety of arrangements and appointments were made in conformity with the statement of the Holy Father's intentions which had been put forth by Cardinal Antonelli: On the 10th of September a "Council of State" and a "Ministry;" on the 28th of October a board of finance; on the 22nd of November a scheme for provincial administration; and on the 24th another for the communes. But all this was absolutely valueless, and, if not intended to throw dust into the eyes of the Romans—which it by no means succeeded in doing—was mere puerile juggling with names. All the councilmen, the deputies, the commissioners, the ministers, and by whatsoever other names they may have been called, were every man of them selected by the Holy Father. All authority and power remained in his hands, and his government was as perfect a despotism as that of any of his predecessors had been, and as a papal government must needs be.

And it was in accordance with the general current

of the times that such should have been the case at Rome. The immense wave of popular uprising which had passed over Europe in 1848 and the following years had subsided, and, as was to be expected, the severity of despotism which succeeded in each country was very accurately proportioned to the degree of violence which had characterised the popular movement which had preceded it. The "repression" in the Papal States was severe.

It is an old reproach against the ecclesiastical caste that priests never forgive; but it must be remembered that what a priest is called on to forgive (under circumstances which demand from another man forgiveness for opposition to his claims, his status, the amount of his power) is an attempt against his existence; while at the same time he is justified in believing, if he be a true priest, that his existence is of all things the most necessary to the welfare of mankind. The absolute verity of the *sint ut sunt* must be taken into consideration. The Pope had by this time learned the conditions of his own existence: "He who talks of reforming me means to abolish me; or whether he means it or not, that is what his efforts tend to. And this abolition of me is felony against the human race—the most perni-

cious and deadliest sin and wickedness which a human creature can compass!" Our faith is mostly so nebulous, our belief in doctrines professed such half-belief, that we are apt to undervalue the cogency of the conclusions to which a Pope who is not a conscious impostor must be, logically enough, driven in considering these matters. "On me alone, and on the maintenance of me in my position, depends the eternal happiness or misery of untold myriads of human beings throughout tens of generations yet unborn! Shall talk about the constitutional liberty of a few thousands of Italians—shall the question of a score or so of lives more or less saved from the gallows or forfeited to it, weigh for an instant, even as dust in the balance, against the necessity of removing the most remotely-threatening danger to me and my ministry!"

The argument is cogent, and the conclusion inevitable; and this should be borne in mind when we censure the persecutions which the Church has practised. She is fully justified in persecuting to the utmost extent to which the world is fool enough to allow her to do so. She is driven from her position into quibbling and false facts and false arguments only when she attempts to deny the principle on

which she persecutes. No other person, or sect, or authority should persecute for opinion's sake, however strongly they may hold their opinion, or however important they deem it; but the Church *should* do so. Why? and what is the difference? None other but that the Church holds theoretically that it is absolutely sure, by means above those attainable by other human beings, that her opinions are true. The Church is *sure* of the truth of her doctrine, *sure* of the consequences of allowing it to be attacked. In such a case the suppression of a spreader of false doctrine, even though by such means as a mad dog is suppressed, is an absolute and indeclinable duty. If we do not like this, the priest must be abolished or restrained.

This pontifical duty Pius had learned the necessity of, and was now minded to do, nothing doubting. There can be no question of the entire sincerity of his faith; the fibre of his intellect is not sufficiently masculine to be afflicted by doubt. Of too concrete and objective a nature to exercise his intelligence much on qualities and the nature of attributes, he believes facts and statements on what appears to him to be good evidence, and acts in accordance with his belief.

Considerable persecution, accordingly, was exercised during the years which succeeded the Pope's restoration to power against those who were deemed dangerous to it. Vengeance is declared by the chroniclers of the time to have remorselessly pursued those who had shown themselves to be enemies to the papal system; but it must be remembered that those who had done so were the same persons who were still dangerous. I think that any person, of whom it could have been believed that he was genuinely resipiscent, would have been received with open arms by the Ecclesiastical Government, and this from motives of policy. I do not think that Pius the Ninth is a tender-hearted man in such sort that sufferings inflicted on his enemies out of his sight would be heavy at his heart. It would have delighted him at any time to pardon a repentant and imploring culprit in the midst of a hemicycle of admiring eyes, especially if the object of his clemency kneeled in an effective attitude; and he would have looked as admirably melodramatic a representative of God-like clemency in person as it is possible for sculptor or painter to conceive. But the admiring eyes must be there!

These were, as I take it, the considerations, and

this is the temper of mind, in which the punishments for the past were inflicted, and the precautions for the future taken, during those years. And having said thus much, it does not seem to be worth while to detail the different cases in which punishments of death, imprisonment, or exile were inflicted on the "Liberals" in Rome and in the provinces.* They were as many as the Ecclesiastical Government thought necessary to make themselves safe; I do not think they were more.

* The several cases may be found registered in the work of the Cavaliere Achille Gennarelli, entitled "Il Governo Pontificio e lo Stato Romano." Prato, 1860.

CHAPTER V.

CONDITION OF ROME AFTER THE RETURN OF THE POPE.—HATRED OF HIS SUBJECTS.—ISOLATION OF THE POPE.—BAFFLED IN HIS HOPE OF BEING A GREAT KING, HE TURNS HIS AMBITION TO BECOMING A GREAT POPE.—THE POLICY OF THE CHURCH IN DEVISING NEW "RELIGIONS."—SINCERITY OF PIUS THE NINTH'S BELIEF.—HIS MOTIVES FOR DECREEING A NEW DOGMA IN RESPECT TO THE VIRGIN.—IN WHAT SENSE THE DOGMA WAS NEW.—OPPORTUNENESS OF THE DEFINITION OF IT.—NO ADDITIONAL BURTHEN TO THE CONSCIENCES OF BELIEVERS.—PREPARATION FOR TAKING THE STEP OF THE "DEFINITION."—ASSEMBLY OF DIGNITARIES IN ROME.—THE CEREMONY OF THE DEFINITION AT ST. PETER'S.—FESTIVITIES.—SINGULAR PRESENT TO THE POPE FROM FRANCE.

LIFE at Rome had fallen back, in the years which immediately followed the return of the Pope, to a condition very similar to that which it had been accustomed to under Gregory the Sixteenth. Order reigned in the Eternal City; but it was order tempered by continual more or less overt, more or less dangerous, conspiracy. The hopes of the Liberals,

of the Giovine Italia, of "the sectarians," of "the revolution," as the clerical and retrograde party loved to call them, were not extinguished, not killed, but only scotched. And the attitude and acknowledged hopes of Sardinia kept these aspirations alive, in a great degree supplied the means of fostering them, and in some degree of furnishing, more or less indirectly, the means of carrying them into the sphere of action. The police were continually, even feverishly, on the alert in Rome, and rigorous repression was the order of the day.

It was dreary work, and a dreary life for the Pontiff! He was hated in the city, the loving admiration of which he had so earnestly desired. And he well knew himself to be hated. And the pain which his nature was calculated to suffer from this consciousness was embittered by a sense of the ingratitude of those who hated him. He had wished and intended to be so beneficent!

The violence of the hatred with which the Pope was now regarded by all Italians, and by his own Romans most of all, was as unreasonably excessive as the love and admiration they had in the early days of his pontificate expressed for him. And it was far more genuine! But if this hatred appears to have

been unreasonably excessive to an impartial outside spectator of the drama, what must it have appeared to the Pope from his point of view! Why did they hate him? Because he would not be killed and abolished; because he would not betray what he held to be a sacred trust; because he strove to uphold the institutions which he in his inmost conscience deemed to be of all conceivable things by very much the most vitally important to the well-being of mankind; not which he believed to be such, seeing the possibility, even ever so faint an one, that the opinion of others who thought differently *might* be right, but which he *knew* to be such with a knowledge which admitted of no shade of doubt, or pause, or misgiving! It must have been very bitter to such a man as Pius the Ninth!

Gradually—and not very gradually either—he found that he and his stood alone; that *every* man's heart, if only as yet the hands of the more enterprising and violent, was against him. The gulf between the Church and the world was widening, and becoming more evident, more phenomenal, and more avowed from day to day. There he sat, in his Apostolic palace, a man forbid!—he to whom the applause of mankind was as the breath of his nos-

trils! A barrier of desolation, like that which physically interposes its melancholy desert between his own city and the rest of the world, was isolating him from the sympathies of mankind!

But he had still his own—the faithful few, the men of his own caste, his brethren in the hate of the world—the Church! Upon them, and upon the Church, all his sympathies were thrown back. In that world he might still find—well, not, perhaps, affection; priests do not for the most part much feel or need affection, and Pius the Ninth as little as any—but applause, admiration, reverence, and flattery in such abundance, such seas and rolling waves of flattery ever beating with sweetest music on the foot of his throne, as never monarch enjoyed before!

He had hoped to be a beloved and beneficent monarch. That dream was over! The wicked world would not accept him. The times were out of joint. His attempt had been made; his failure signal, immense! There remained the other aspect of his two-fold character. If he could not be a great king, it was still open to him to be a great Pope! To that ambition he now turned himself. In that, time and the hour, and the tenacious vitality of the Mastai blood assisting, he has been more successful.

It was necessary to him to do something—something that should place him once more *en evidence* before the world, and should replace him at least in some degree on a pedestal, which if not quite so high an one as that from which he had been so miserably thrust, should be at least safer, and more sure of the ungrudging homage of that public to which it would appeal. The nature of the something to be done must be such as would strike the imagination (always, of course, bearing in mind the special public which was to be addressed), should be of interest "*urbi et orbi*," and should be capable of assuming a visible and material existence in the daily lives of those who constituted the public in question.

Nothing could have been found better fitted to answer all the purposes it was intended to serve than the scheme to which the Holy Father put his hand at the close of the year 1854.

The wisdom of the rulers of the Catholic Church as regards matters material, and its unwisdom as regards matters spiritual, so notably evidenced by many pages of its history, is in nothing more conspicuously seen than in its efforts to secure for its flocks new objects of devotion, new "religions," as

these playthings are termed in the languages of Latin origin. And the marked propensity of the male portion of the populations of Latin race to worship a female, in preference to a male, idol, renders a new superstition connected with the Virgin Mary the most effective invention that could be imagined.

And to Pius the Ninth it was especially of importance that his new religion should be effective! Not that it is to be supposed that he was, or is, otherwise than entirely sincere in the matter. But the inmost nature of the man seeks and turns to that which is effective, theatrical, some *idolon* capable of decorous presentation to the multitude. There is no reason to doubt that Pius the Ninth really does believe (that is, assumes as a certain truth in nowise needing examination or thinking about) that the being he has always heard spoken of as the Virgin Mary really was miraculously born without any share in that inheritance of sinfulness which is, according to the theory of the universal Church, derived from the disobedience of Eve to every other human being, with the one exception of her Son, our Saviour; further, that it would be a good and laudable thing, useful to the interests of the Church, and

of mankind, that this fact should be authoritatively and officially recognised by the Church; that to do this would be especially gratifying to the same Virgin Mary, eternally existing in heaven, with a nature and sentiments calculated to be pleased by such recognition, and would be likely to induce her to cause blessings and advantages of various kinds to be bestowed on all who should contribute to procure for her this pleasure, in a degree to which she would not be disposed to extend her benevolence otherwise; and lastly, that for him to be the principal means of securing these advantages to religion, to the Church, to mankind, and to the Virgin Mary herself, would, while assuring to him a vast amount of immediate admiration, applause, and opportunity for display, shed a halo of immortal glory over his Papacy. There was of course much that was of the earth earthy in the latter clauses of the considerations thus set forth. But it would be exceedingly unjust—it would be judging Pius by a standard which we cannot hope or pretend to apply in judging of the greatest of our species—to maintain or insinuate that the foibles which thus mingled themselves with his motives invalidated or even detracted from the force and cogency of the higher considerations which guided

him. And it must be admitted that a Pope, holding the opinions which have been above rehearsed, acted rightly and well in "defining the dogma" of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

For it must be understood—of course by all Catholics *is* understood—that the present Pontiff in nowise invented this doctrine. It was a very ancient and wide-spread notion in the Church, as may be seen set forth at great length in the abundantly learned work of the Jesuit Passaglia, in three quarto volumes, published by the College of the Propaganda. And the action of the present Pontiff limited itself to issuing an authoritative declaration of the truthfulness and accuracy of this notion, and a decree making it imperative and obligatory on all persons to believe it to have been, and to be so, on pain of incurring all those penalties which are attached to the wilful rejection of any other portion of the doctrines of the Church.

But if this doctrine had been for many generations and centuries extensively held in the Church, and if all the good things above set forth were to be got by the authoritative establishment of it in the manner adopted by Pius the Ninth, why, it may be asked, was it left for him and for the middle of the nine-

teenth century to accomplish this work? To which it may be replied, in the first place, that previously to the definition of the doctrine by Pius, no Pope and no other man was obliged to believe it on pain of imperfection in his orthodoxy. And it may well be that many generations have elapsed since a Pope has sat in St. Peter's seat endowed with a capacity to believe it. In the second place, it does not follow that if a Pope speculatively believe this doctrine to be true, it was therefore incumbent on him to impose it as a necessary article of faith on the Church. And the question whether it was desirable and for the interest of the Church so to do, would depend on many and various considerations connected with the condition of the Church, of the world, and of men's minds at the time being. It has been very much questioned, looking at the matter from the standpoint of an outsider, and putting aside all reference to the intrinsic value and credibility of the doctrine, whether now the promulgation of the doctrine as an obligatory article of faith was in the interests of the Church a prudent step or otherwise. It was probably a wise one. Those who think otherwise, object that the loading of consciences with *additional* burthens will cause some, who cannot endure them,

to leave the Church. But this notion of *addition* seems to be an erroneous one, based on the imperfect applicability of a metaphor. To believe anything in contradiction to the best exercise of the reasoning faculties of which the individual is capable on the authority of another is a *burthen* pleasant to some minds, easy to many, difficult to a few, and to a yet smaller number impossible. But to believe two statements—or ten—regarding subjects of the same sort, instead of one only, is no additional difficulty. In fact, be the articles of belief as many and as contradictory to the ordinary intelligence as they may, the proposition which the faithful have to accede to is one only. It is more probable that that which I —the Church—tell you is true, should be the truth, than that the conclusions arrived at by your own mental powers should be so. No disciples, therefore, will be lost by the imposition of the new article of faith. Those who might be supposed losable by it, are lost already. In the ages when *quieta non movere* was the best wisdom of the Church, when the conformity of the world sat lightly on it, because thinking was rare, it would have been imprudent to risk awakening sleeping doubts by the startling trumpet proclamation of a new thing to be believed. But

now when the world is far more accurately and exhaustively divided into believers and unbelievers, there is no danger of injuring the robust faith of the former; while, on the other hand, the stimulus supplied to their emotional activity, the invention of something new to *do*, the amusement of new associations, new confraternities, and new formulæ of devotion, are well calculated to stir their zeal. For the rest, it is the interest of the Church at the present day to make high and visible the hurdles that separate the sheep from the goats. There are very many practical infidels who are such by reason of the operation of their hearts, not of their heads, who may be frightened into the right fold by an unmistakable manifestation of the fact that they are at present in the wrong one.

For which reasons it seems to me at least very questionable whether Pius the Ninth were not well advised, assuming, as there is no reason to doubt, that he is sincere in his own belief in taking the step which he took on the 8th of December, 1854.

As early as the 2nd of February, 1849, he had sent forth circulars from Gaeta to all the Bishops of the Catholic world, asking them what they themselves thought of the doctrine in question, how far

their flocks were disposed to devotion to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and what were their own wishes and ideas as to a definition of it (*i.e.*, such a pontifical declaration as should make it thenceforth an obligatory article of faith), and as to giving the greatest possible solemnity to the act of the Pontiff in defining it.

More than five hundred Bishops—that is, nearly all those of the Catholic world—replied, declaring* their own very special devotion to the Immaculate Virgin, attesting the "singular"—it is the word of the ecclesiastical chronicler—piety and devotion of their clergy and their flocks to this particular form of worship, and imploring almost unanimously that the doctrine in question should be "defined."

Of course they did! When a Pope asks such questions of his Bishops, it would be a miracle indeed if any other answer save that wished for were returned!

On the 1st of December Pius, having received the desired answers, called the Cardinals to a Consistory, and asked of them if it seemed good to them that he

* With some very noteworthy exceptions, which may be found given at length in Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon," in a letter to the author of the *Christian Year*, Oxford, 1865. Note B, p. 351.

should issue a dogmatic decree, affirming the Immaculate Conception of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary? And every member of the Sacred College replied that it was the best thing he could possibly do—of course!

For many weeks past there had been an immense influx of Cardinals and Bishops into Rome. Strangely enough they came from the uttermost parts of the earth, without waiting for the reply of the Sacred College to the Pope's question—so that they might have had all their journey in vain! Happily it was not so! The names of all who came were chronicled day by day as they arrived, and may be read in the columns of the *Official Gazette;* and a more permanent record of them has been inscribed with pardonable pride by the Pontiff on tablets of marble, affixed to the north and south walls of the chancel of St. Peter's. Most of them were specially invited. Many came uninvited. All were received with the utmost gladness and hospitality by the Holy Father. It was emphatically a case of the more the merrier!

On the great day fixed for the ceremony, the 8th, fifty-three Cardinals, forty-two Archbishops, and ninety Bishops were assembled in the great Basilica

of St. Peter. An enormous crowd of persons of every class of society thronged the church, eager—as an ecclesiastical chronicler puts it—"to hear what thing it was that they were to believe firmly." At half-past eight in the morning the ceremony began. The Pontiff himself performed Mass. Then his Eminence Cardinal Macchi, as Dean of the Sacred College, asked in the name of all the anxious world that the Pontiff should proceed to the definition of the doctrine. Then the hymn "Veni Creator" was sung by the whole assemblage. After which the Pontiff, with his magnificent voice slightly quavering at first with emotion, pronounced *urbi et orbi* the decree as follows: "By the authority of Jesus Christ, our Lord, and by that of the Apostles Peter and Paul, to the honour of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, to the decoration and exaltation of the Virgin, to the exaltation of the Catholic Faith, and to the increment of the Christian religion, we declare, pronounce, and define that it is a doctrine revealed by God that the Most Blessed Virgin by the singular grace and privilege of omnipotent God, out of regard for the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the human race, was preserved free from every stain of original sin from the first instant of

her Conception; and this, therefore, it behoves all the Faithful constantly and firmly to believe."

Great festivities and rejoicings celebrated the event. The city was magnificently illuminated that evening, and two thousand five hundred crowns' worth of bread and meat were distributed to the people—*panem et circenses*. An exceedingly ugly column was erected out of the special oblations of the faithful in the Piazza di Spagna, immediately in front of the College de Propaganda Fide, in commemoration of the day and the work that had hallowed it.

And it may be safely assumed that Pius the Ninth had never, since the day when the cheering and enthusiastic populace took his horses from his carriage and drew him in triumph to the Quirinal amid the plaudits of the entire city, known so happy a moment as that in which he announced, from his high place in St. Peter's, the new article of faith, *urbi et orbi*.

It must not be supposed that the brief formula of proclamation quoted above constitutes the sole promulgation of the Immaculate Conception. This has been done in due form by a Bull, which is a very much more lengthy affair. A somewhat curious and

remarkable offering to the Holy Father, sent quite recently (February, 1877) by his faithful children in France, assures in a singular fashion the preservation, and at need the diffusion of it. A colossal cabinet, as magnificent as ivory, precious woods, mother of pearl, and carving can make it, having a statue of the *Immaculata* in silver on the top of it, and furnished with three hundred drawers, has arrived at the Vatican, and has been set up in the middle of the hall consecrated to the memory of the promulgation of the new dogma. And in every one of the three hundred drawers there is an elegantly-bound, beautifully-written, and admirably-illumined volume, each of which contains the Bull defining the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in one of the three hundred dialects into which the designers of this unique offering have caused it to be translated.

CHAPTER VI.

CONSECRATION OF THE CHURCH OF ST. PAUL ON THE VIA OSTIA.—THE NEW CHURCH.—ITS COST.—THE ADVENTURE OF THE POPE AT THE BASILICA OF ST. AGNES.—CONSISTORY OF THE 22ND OF JANUARY.—POPE'S COMPLAINTS OF THE PIEDMONTESE GOVERNMENT. — EXCOMMUNICATION PRONOUNCED AGAINST ALL CONCERNED IN THE RECENT PIEDMONTESE LEGISLATION.—COMPLAINT OF SPAIN AND SWITZERLAND.—CONCORDAT WITH AUSTRIA.—JOURNEY OF THE POPE.—LEAVES ROME ON THE 4TH OF MAY.—HOLY HOUSE AT LORETO.—POPE'S JOURNEY BY TERNI, SPOLETO, PERUGIA, SINIGAGLIA, ETC., TO LORETO.—HIS JOURNEY TO BOLOGNA.—VISITS OF GREAT PERSONAGES.—VISIT TO MODENA.—TO FERRARA.—TO RAVENNA.—JOURNEY TO TUSCANY.—ENTRY INTO FLORENCE. —POPE AT THE PITTI PALACE.—VISITS VOLTERRA, ETC.—GRAND DUKE'S HOSPITALITY.—COST OF IT.—THE POPE'S RETURN TO ROME.

THE Pontiff took the opportunity offered by the extraordinary number of great ecclesiastical dignitaries assembled in Rome for the promulgation of the new dogma, as related in the foregoing chapter, to consecrate the new Church of St. Paul. The

ancient basilica existing in this spot, marked, according to tradition, by the martyrdom of the Apostle of the Gentiles, had been burned down in 1823. Leo the Twelfth, in 1825, ordered the reconstruction of it, charging the revenue with an annual expenditure of not less than fifty thousand crowns, and appealing to all the Catholic world for help to complete the work. Three hundred and forty-two thousand crowns were subscribed, and various sovereigns, especially the non-Catholic Emperor of Russia and the infidel Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, sent marbles of great value. The edifice, at least as regards the sumptuous interior, was now completed, and awaited consecration. About one million of crowns had been expended on it. Never was money and human effort so foolishly thrown away. And all the huge sums that were expended on the work by the Papal Government were borrowed money, supplied on such terms as seemed to Rothschild a sufficient motive for advancing it; while the Apostolic Government was year by year increasing its indebtedness to proportions which menaced a financial catastrophe. The spot in the midst of the Campagna, about three miles from Rome, towards Ostia, on which the church stands, is one of those subjected in a special degree

to the scourge of the malaria. The priests who serve the church cannot in the summer or autumn remain there, but hurry out to perform the prescribed services, and escape in all haste from the desolate spot. Congregation, of course, there is none; and no thought of the possibility of there ever being one entered into the imagination of any of those who contributed to the erection of the new church. It is good that historical traditions should not be allowed to perish; but surely this one, however important, might have been securely perpetuated at a less cost than that of this splendid but grossly inartistic and, æsthetically speaking, vulgar building. Outside, it is a colossal brick-and-mortar barn, without the smallest pretension to any attempt at architectural beauty of any kind; in the interior it is gorgeous, with a tasteless accumulation of rare and costly marbles and gilding. That the workmanship should by its excellence exceed the value of the material on which it is expended was once deemed the special characteristic of a work of art; but few buildings have ever been raised in which the reverse is so conspicuously the case as in this Basilica of St. Paul.

It had now, however, to be consecrated. There

was at hand a notable assembly of the principal representatives of the Catholic world to do honour to the occasion, and on the 10th of that December, 1854, the Pontiff had another happy day.

And the 12th of the following April had a yet greater good fortune and pleasure in store for him, in an event which not only broke the tedium of an existence the quietness of which must have palled on the taste of one accustomed to such a life as that of the early days of his papacy, but placed him personally *en evidence* before admiring Europe, and provided a long succession of pleasant anniversaries! The remains of an ancient basilica—that of St. Alexander, Pontiff and martyr—had recently been discovered about seven miles from the Via Nomentana; and on the 12th of April, 1855, the Pope made an excursion to visit the spot. On his return, he stopped to dine in the convent of St. Agnes, attached to the basilica of that name. It was a pleasant little festival. Forty persons had the honour of being invited to the papal table. And after the dinner, a number of the students of the Propaganda were admitted to kiss the foot of the Holy Father. There were six Cardinals of the party, and several Bishops, and all were finding the day a

delightful one, when suddenly a beam which supported the floor of the large room in which the party was assembled gave way, and the whole of them, about a hundred and twenty in number, were precipitated into the apartment below! The alarm and confusion were great. But it was found at length, when all had been extricated, that nobody had been killed, nobody badly hurt, and only a few, among whom was the Pope himself, received some slight wounds and bruises. A miracle! All flock into the adjoining church of St. Agnes to return thanks—Pope and his subjects, influenced by the same emotions of past alarm and escape from danger. It was really a happy day! And all the subsequent felicitations! the recognition of the special intervention of the Virgin Mary, watchful over the especial and beloved worshipper who had so recently done so much for her! Could there be a better feather for a papal cap?

Nevertheless, the years that intervened between the return from Gaeta and 1849, the date of the war against Austria, which was the beginning of the end of the temporal sovereignty of the Pontiffs, though tranquil, were troubled ones. Even the tranquillity was not without its bitterness to the Pope, for it was

the result of the occupation of Rome by the French. And Pius the Ninth wanted much to have his own capital in his own hands! But much worse was the line of conduct which the Piedmontese Government was taking.

On the 22nd of January in this year, 1855, the Pope, who had been highly displeased by various acts of the Subalpine Government, assembled the Cardinals in Consistory; and having caused to be distributed to them a document, in which the various grounds of complaint by the Apostolic See against Piedmont were set forth—such as the freedom of the press, the subjection of missives emanating from Rome to the royal *exequatur*, the suppression of ecclesiastical immunities, the expulsion of the Jesuits and of the Archbishops of Turin and Cagliari, the abolition of tithes in Sardinia, Protestant places of worship opened in Turin and in Genoa, the proposal of a law to make marriage a civil contract, and, finally, the now threatened suppression of religious houses—the Pope declared to the members of the Sacred College, that "words were wanting to him to express the bitterness with which his heart was oppressed at seeing the infinitely cruel and scarcely credible acts that are from day to day committed

against the venerable rights of the Church, and against the supreme and inviolable authority of this Holy See," by the Piedmontese Government. He goes on to say that the time has come when it is necessary to put a stop to these evils, and he declares all the laws made and acts done, to the ends above rehearsed, to be null and void; and desires that all such as have been in any way or capacity engaged in doing these things, to consider carefully the pains and penalties attached by the decrees of the Council of Trent to such offenders.

The Piedmontese Government made no answer to this allocution; but the Parliament passed the bill for the suppression of the convents by large majorities in both houses, on the 22nd and 28th of May, and on the 29th of that month a decree was published by which three hundred and thirty-four convents were suppressed in the Piedmontese dominions. On the 26th of July the Pontiff summoned another Consistory, in which he declared that it was "with incredible sadness of mind that he was compelled" to declare that all those who had proposed, approved, sanctioned the laws in question, or who had acted on them, favoured them, executed them, or adhered to them, had incurred the greater excommunication,

and all the ecclesiastical censures and pains fulminated against such offenders.

In the same Consistory he complained that he "saw, with the utmost wonder and bitterness of heart," that Spain was disregarding the terms of the Concordat made with that nation, "which he should never have believed of that country;" and that he had in consequence found it necessary to recall his legate from Madrid.

In the same Consistory he bitterly complained also of the state of ecclesiastical matters in Switzerland.

On the 3rd of November, however, the Pope was able to communicate the good news that a Concordat had been arranged with Austria, by virtue of which the communications between the Austrian Bishops and the Holy See would not be subjected to any supervision or permission of the Austrian Government, and the Bishops would be subjected to no censureship as regarded the publication of their pastorals. The Pontiff was at the same time much gratified by the present of a hundred thousand florins from the Emperor Francis Joseph, to be expended in pious work, by preference, "for the erection of the column of the Immaculate Conception in the Piazza

di Spagna, and the completion of the church of St. Paul."

Unquestionably the course of these years, though unmarked by any important event in the life of the Pontiff, was made heavy to him by the almost uninterrupted succession of symptoms, more or less marked and unmistakable, that things were going badly with the Church. But it is probable that the manner in which the important events, which led directly up to the catastrophe that was even then overshadowing him, would be brought about, was still unforeseen.

On the 4th of May, 1857, the Pontiff found himself able to accomplish a strong desire which he had long felt. Pius the Ninth, we are told, had "always ardently wished to accomplish a special act of religion," by visiting the Holy House at Loreto. It is not probable that he had "always" been anxious to make this visit, for he might very easily have done so in the old days of his residence at Sinigaglia, which is but a few miles to the south of Loreto. But now that he had assumed the position of a very special devotee and patron of the Virgin Mary, it is intelligible that it behoved him to do so. The legend of the Holy House is too well known for it to be

necessary to spend many words on the subject. It is a small brick and mortar house, consisting of one chamber and a closet behind it, which is said to have been the residence of the Virgin Mary, and to have been miraculously transported, after sundry adventures by the way, to the spot where it now stands. A magnificent church has been built over and around it; and the *treasury*, consisting of the offerings of the faithful during many generations, was the wealthiest in Europe till the contents were stolen by the French. It is of course a celebrated place of pilgrimage.

On the 4th of May the Pope left Rome on this pious expedition. His wish to do so had been duly notified to all the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the districts through which he would have to pass; and the result was "a deputation" to implore his Holiness to condescend to do what he desired to do. Taking with him many of the principal personages of his household, and the prelate Berardi, subsequently raised to the purple, as pro-Secretary of State, he travelled by Terni, Spoleto (where striking reminiscences and some curious contrasts must have awaited him), Assisi, Perugia, Camerino, and Macerata, and reached Loreto on the 14th. Thence,

having performed his devotions in due form, and after an excursion to Fermo and Ascoli, he continued his journey by Ancona, Sinigaglia (contrasts and memories yet stranger than before !), Pesaro, Rimini, Cesena, Forli, Faenza, Imola (once more among old acquaintances !), and thence to Bologna, where he purposed remaining some little time, and took up his residence at the suburban villa of St. Michele in Bosco. At various points of this journey he received the visits and the homage of a great variety of great personages. In Perugia, the Archduke Charles came to him, as the representative of his father, the Grand Duke of Tuscany ; in Pesaro, the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. In Bologna he received the visits of Louis, King of Bavaria, of Robert, Duke of Parma, and his mother, the Duchess of Berry. Leopold, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Francis the Fifth, Duke of Modena, also came to pay their respects to him at Bologna, and begged him to visit their respective capitals. The Emperor of Austria also sent Count Bessingen, the Governor of the Venetian provinces, and the King of Sardinia sent the Commendatore Boncompagni, his Minister at the Court of Tuscany, to wait on him at Bologna. It was only a few months previously that he had, as

has been seen, excommunicated the King of Sardinia (not specially and individually, or by name, but implicitly); but it is to be presumed that no allusion was made on the present occasion to that untoward fact.

On the 2nd of July the Holy Father went to Modena, gladdened the pious Duke by his presence for two days, and on the 4th returned to Bologna.

On the 10th he visited Ferrara, returning again to Bologna on the 15th; and he spent the days from the 21st to the 26th in Ravenna. After that he remained at the Villa Michele, in Bosco, till the 16th of August.

Then setting out for Tuscany, he passed the night of his arrival at a villa called Le Maschere, not far from Florence, whence he made his ceremonial entry into that city the next morning.

The Grand Duke went out to meet him; and the present writer, who was then at Florence, well remembers all the difficulty and debate there was among the masters of ceremonies and the like on the question what rule of precedence should regulate the entry of the Pope and the Duke into the capital of the latter. It seems to have been a very knotty point whether the carriage of the Pope or that of

the Duke should precede. It appears, indeed, to have been insoluble; for it was at length settled that they should make their entry in the same carriage, seated side by side. The same witness well remembers how flat an affair that entry was—how utterly the Florentines refused to make demonstration of any pleasure or rejoicing on the occasion. The Holy Father must have received a renewed assurance that he must for the future look to the ranks of his own caste alone for sympathy, applause, and flattery.

One entire floor of the Pitti Palace was assigned to the Holy Father and his suite while he remained in the City of Flowers; and the irreverent Florentines, less used to such matters of ecclesiastical etiquette than the Roman world, made great fun of the fact that all the female portion of the ordinary inhabitants of the apartments in question had to be removed from them on the occasion.

Pius remained at Florence, save for a short visit to Prato and Pistoria, till the 23rd. On the 24th he started on his return to Rome, and, visiting Pisa, Leghorn, and Lucca by the way, reached Volterra on the 26th, where he passed the following day, for the sake of visiting his old school. On the 28th he went to Siena, and on the 31st quitted Tuscany by

the Valdichiana. The Grand Duke had accompanied him during the whole of his travels in Tuscany, and had during the whole time played the host in a very splendid manner. The Tuscans, meanwhile, were grudgingly counting the cost, which was calculated to have exceeded seventy thousand francesconi, or more than fourteen thousand pounds.

On the first night of the Pontiff's return to his own dominions he slept at Orvieto, and passed the following day there. The 3rd and 4th of September he passed at Viterbo, and on the 5th re-entered Rome, where he was received with every possible demonstration of rejoicing and enthusiastic welcome —by the clergy.

He had been absent from Rome just four months, and had in the course of his travels visited almost every city of note in his dominions, as well as nearly the whole of Tuscany.

The expense incurred on account of this journey by the deeply-indebted and embarrassed Papal Government was about one million and twenty thousand crowns.

CHAPTER VII.

PETITIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE LEGATIONS NEGLECTED.—POPE'S SPEECH ON HIS RETURN TO ROME.—WORDS OF NAPOLEON THE THIRD TO THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR ON THE 1ST OF JANUARY, 1859.—WAR BREAKS OUT.—POSITION OF THE POPE.—VIEWS OF FRANCE AND AUSTRIA.—PEACE ON THE 6TH OF JULY.—PAPAL PROTEST OF THE 15TH OF JUNE.—PAPAL ALLOCUTION.—EXPEDITION AGAINST PERUGIA.—ALLOCUTION OF THE 26TH OF SEPTEMBER.—SARDINIAN MINISTER LEAVES ROME.—PROPOSED CONGRESS.—THE PAMPHLET "THE POPE AND THE CONGRESS."—PAPAL REPLY TO IT.—POPE'S SPEECH ON THE FIRST DAY OF 1860.—LETTER OF NAPOLEON TO THE POPE.—ERROR OF NAPOLEON'S VIEW.—THE POPE'S REPLY.—NON POSSUMUS.

THE populations of the provinces of the pontifical dominions, more especially of the Legations, as they are called—that is to say, of Romagna and Emilia—seized the opportunity of the Pontiff's presence among them to endeavour to bring to his notice the very unsatisfactory condition of the country, and the sufferings of a large portion of the inhabitants. No

formal presentation, however, of those petitions and representations was permitted, and the Government, we are told, "was informed of them only by means of the vast number of copies of them which were in circulation;" and whatever amount of information may have reached the Pontiff by these means, nothing was done, and no attention was paid to the wishes or the complaints of the people. It may be that no cry of complaint or supplication for relief was suffered to reach either the ear or the eye of the Pontiff.

If he were *not* ignorant of the expression of these sufferings and of these petitions, he was guilty of very gross hypocrisy and falsehood when, on the 25th of September, after his return to Rome, in an allocution in Consistory respecting his journey, he "gave thanks to the Most High for the satisfaction of having seen that all the populations of the provinces he had visited had shown themselves so devoted to the Holy See—that his journey had seemed a perpetual and solemn triumph of our most holy religion." He said that he had very willingly listened to the magistrates, "who had set forth the local needs of the different places, or the measures required for the augmentation of their commerce,

with the respectfulness and in the manner which befitted subjects of the Holy See." He spoke of the great pleasure with which he had received attestations of respect from so many Sovereigns, especially in Modena and Tuscany (and here he spoke with unquestionable sincerity), and finally he expressed his thanks to all, and particularly to the Roman people.

The Pontiff was delighted with the proper and respectful manner in which his subjects expressed their wishes and needs. He had travelled over nearly the whole of his dominions, and had found that order reigned at Perugia, at Bologna, at Ferrara, at Ravenna, as at Rome. And there was the reassuring thought that this "order" was guaranteed by the solid force of France in the south and Austria in the north! It was not agreeable to the Holy Father to have the troops of France in Rome, and he would have much preferred that they should have afforded him the requisite protection from a greater distance. But as it was, "order reigned;" and there seemed no immediate danger of those "changes" which "perplex monarchs."

But on the first day of the year 1859 the curtain began to rise on a new drama. On that day Napoleon

the Third, then the arbiter of European destinies, said to the representative of Austria at his Court, "I am sorry that our relations with your Government are not so good as heretofore; but pray tell the Emperor that my sentiments towards him personally are unchanged." A very quiet little word! But on hearing it Austria immediately sent thirty thousand men to reinforce her army in Italy! On the 10th of January Victor Emmanuel, opening the Piedmontese Parliament, sounded a similar note. And in a word it was evident that there was to be war in the north of Italy; and that the two protectors of the Holy Father were about to enter on an internecine struggle.

In these awkward circumstances the first fear of the Pope was that active hostilities might ensue between the Austrians who were at Ancona, and the French who were at Rome. And the step which he took to remove this danger was a communication from Cardinal Antonelli to the ambassadors of Austria and France on the 22nd of February, in which he represented that the Holy Father thought himself sufficiently strong to be able to secure the maintenance of peace in his States; and that he was consequently ready to make arrangements with the

two Powers in question for the simultaneous withdrawal of the troops of both those Powers from his dominions with the least delay possible. This step on the part of the Papal Government was a very remarkable one, inasmuch as it indicates an ignorance of the state of Italy and of the prevailing wishes and aspirations of the subjects of the Holy See, which seems altogether incredible. It is inconceivable that the Pope's advisers, if not the Pontiff himself, should have had any doubt about the fact that, if the Holy Father had been left alone with his subjects, unprotected as well as untrammeled by any foreign power, his temporal government would not have endured a week! Nor is this a case in which the event is needed to throw a light upon the circumstances of the time. There could hardly have been a layman in Italy at that time, of those at all capable of forming an opinion on the subject, who could not have foretold as much!

The application of Cardinal Antonelli to the ambassadors was wholly unattended to. Both protectors, while fighting out their own quarrel, treated the Holy Father as nurses treat a child who cries for what is not good for it! But their own ultimate intentions with respect to him were very different.

Austria of course was fighting for a universal *status quo*, and had she been victorious would have made—or at least would have done her best to make—Pius the Ninth every inch a Pope and Pope-king again. France was fighting to make and support for herself an influence in Italy, and with ultimate intentions with regard to the Holy Father of a very different nature from those of his real friend Austria. For while supporting him in the exercise of his temporal power, France could not in the circumstances of her own position at home and in Europe do otherwise than press him to make reforms which he had ascertained to be incompatible with that power. Moreover it had become sufficiently clear by this time who the Pope's real, dangerous, and deadly enemy was—Piedmont; and France was going to war as the friend and ally of Piedmont.

The story of the war and its results is a well-known one. Peace was made at Villafranca on the 6th of July, 1859, one of the stipulations between the two Emperors being that an Italian confederation should be established under the honorary presidency of the Pope. Of course this would have well suited the views of France, as they were explained by the Emperor himself to his own Senate subse-

quently. But here, again, it seems extraordinary that the Emperor and his counsellors should not have possessed sufficient knowledge of Italy, of its constituent parts, and of the temper and views of the Italians, to be sure that such a scheme was a chimerical one. Possibly the Emperor did know it to be chimerical!

But while France and Piedmont on the one side, and Austria on the other, had been settling the destinies of Northern Italy, the dominions of the Holy Father had been showing how much truth there was in his statements of their devotedness to himself, by throwing off his yoke in the Legations, and striving to do so in Umbria. On the 15th of June Cardinal Antonelli addressed a circular to the representatives of the Powers residing at Rome, protesting against all that had been done in the Legations; and on the 18th of the same month the Pontiff wrote a long encyclical letter to the "Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic world," in which he declares that he is prepared to suffer any affliction "rather than abandon in any respect our apostolic duty, or permit anything contrary to the sanctity of the oath by which we were bound, when we, however unworthy, were

raised to this supreme seat of the chief of the Apostles, the fortress and bulwark of the Catholic Faith."

On the next day but one his Holiness addressed a long allocution to the Cardinals, rehearsing with much violence of reprobation the rebellious acts of his subjects in Bologna, Ravenna, Perugia, and other cities; declaring that the object of such felonious deeds is to destroy the Catholic religion itself; setting forth the absolutely imprescriptible title on which he holds the sovereignty of his dominions; fulminating excommunication against all those engaged in these rebellions and resistance to his authority; and concluding by saying that his hope of a happy exit from all these evils "is certainly increased by the fact that the French armies at present existing in Italy will, in accordance with the declarations of our very dear son in Christ the Emperor of the French, not only abstain from doing anything against our temporal power and that of the Holy See, but on the contrary will defend and preserve it."

The Apostolic Government at the same time took active measures to do what lay in its own power to put down rebellion at least in the nearest of the

revolted provinces; and sent the troops of which it could dispose to Perugia, with results which are but too well known, the story of which, however, does not fall within the scope of this work. It is fair, perhaps, to consider that the excesses of the soldiery sent to Perugia make no part of the personal biography of the Pontiff. Nevertheless it is not permissible for a biographer to forget, however gladly he would do so, that so far from reproving or even deploring the hideous excesses that were committed by his troops in Perugia, the Holy Father saw fit to thank the general in command, and to cause a commemorative medal to be struck as a memorial of his gratitude and a reward to the soldiers for doings which no other civilised state would have tolerated in its agents! No compassion for those guilty of rebelling against his authority could reach the heart of a sacerdotal ruler, and no ferocity in the repressing of such rebellion seem to priestly eyes aught but holy zeal!

On the 26th of September the Holy Father again delivered a long address to the Cardinals assembled in Consistory. Going over again the facts of the rebellion, and protesting against them and the authors of them, he proceeds to say that, "Moved

by undisguised hatred to his Holy See, they have dared to meet together in Bologna on the 6th of this month in an assembly called by them the National Assembly of the people of Emilia, and to promulgate a decree full of false accusations and false pretexts, in which, mendaciously asserting the unanimity of the people, they declared, in opposition to the rights of the Church, that they would no longer remain under the Pontifical Government. And on the following day they similarly declared, as is now the fashion, that they wished to unite themselves to the dominions of the King of Sardinia and to become his subjects." The Holy Father then laments that these same rebellious and impious men are doing everything in their power to corrupt the morals of the people, "especially by means of books and journals printed at Bologna and elsewhere, by means of which universal license is favoured, the Vicar of Christ is lacerated with abuse, the exercise of piety and religion is ridiculed, and the prayers addressed in honour of the Immaculate and Most Holy Mother of God the Virgin Mary for the invocation of her most potent protection are derided. In the theatres also morality is offended; and modesty and virtue and sacred persons are exposed to public contumely and

derision. And these things are done by those who call themselves Catholics and reverently devout towards the supreme spiritual power and authority of the Roman Pontiff!" The Holy Father proceeds at great length to renew his protests against all that had been done in the revolted provinces, to declare all their acts void and of no effect, and to declare the ecclesiastical penalties incurred by all who had rebelled or abetted the rebellion.

After this allocution the representative of the King of Sardinia could hardly continue to reside at Rome; and on the 1st of October Cardinal Antonelli wrote to Count della Minerva, informing him that the dignity of the Holy Father did not permit that a representative of the King of Sardinia should any longer reside in his Court, and he was therefore obliged to send him his passports. On its becoming known to the public that he was about to quit Rome, nearly four thousand individuals called and left their cards on him; and so great a crowd gathered to cheer him as he left the city, that it was deemed necessary to call out the troops to preserve order.

These were sufficiently significant symptoms that nothing save foreign force could any longer maintain the temporal power of the Holy See, and that the

European Congress, which it was proposed should meet in the beginning of the year 1860, for the arrangement of the affairs of Central Italy, and especially of the Papal States, would have a task of no ordinary difficulty on their hands.

Some of those who were invited to join it were of that opinion, and declined the task. Instead of the Congress, a French pamphlet, which became very celebrated, made its appearance. It was entitled "The Pope and the Congress," and was anonymous, but was supposed to be written by "one De Guerronière," as the Italian annalist says, and to express the ideas and purposes of Napoleon the Third. These were, briefly, that it was needful, for the sake of the Catholic religion, that the Pope should continue to be a temporal Sovereign; but that, as he was an extremely bad one, his sovereignty should be as small as possible; that all his dominions should therefore be taken from him save Rome and the so-called "patrimony of St. Peter," the rule over the inhabitants of which should be secured to him by the Powers of Europe, for the good of the faithful in all the other parts of the world. The arrangement was eminently satisfactory to all parties except the Pope himself, and the victims who were to be sacrificed to

the religious requirements of their fellow-creatures. The former lost no time in crying aloud against the fate proposed for him. A statement immediately appeared in the Roman *Official Gazette*, to the effect that the pamphlet in question was "a homage to the revolution," filled with "hidden poison"—"a subject of grief for all good Catholics"—"a reproduction of errors and insults vomited against the Holy See," etc. In short, the Pope would in nowise consent to the proposed arrangement.

On the first day of 1860, when receiving the visits of the representatives of the Powers, and of the generals of the French occupying force, the Pope said that he prayed God to enlighten the French Emperor, to the end that he might "securely tread the difficult path before him, and recognise the falsehood of certain principles which had appeared within the last few days in a work which may be described as a notable monument of hypocrisy, and an ignoble collection of contradictions. We hope," continued the Pontiff, "that by the assistance of this Divine illumination, or rather we are persuaded, that by the assistance of this illumination he will condemn the principles contained in this work; and we are the more convinced that he will do so from the circum-

stance that we possess certain documents which he had the goodness to place in our hands some little time since, which are a veritable condemnation of the principles in question. And in this conviction we implore from God that He will spread His benedictions over the Emperor, over his august Consort, over the Prince Imperial, and the whole of France."

Of course, there would have been no object in noticing the offending pamphlet if it had not been known to proceed from the Emperor!

When the Congress had first been proposed, Pius had written to the Emperor, begging that he would support at it the entirety and inviolability of the temporal dominions of the Holy See, and protect it against the iniquitous rebellion; and the Emperor had replied at considerable length. The gist of his letter is that, if the Pope had taken the advice of the Emperor at the time of the conclusion of peace at Villafranca, and had separated the administration of the Legations from that of his other States, and appointed a lay governor over them, those provinces would, in his opinion, have returned to their allegiance; that the coming Congress would no doubt recognise the right of the Holy See to the provinces in question, but would probably decline to use force

for the subjection of them to the Holy Father; that he, the Emperor, had not had power to prevent the rebellion in those provinces and the determination of the people to withdraw themselves from the authority of the Pontiff; that the only thing now to be done was for the Holy Father freely to renounce his sovereignty over those provinces, asking the European Powers to guarantee to him the remainder of his dominions in exchange for that sacrifice; and that he, the Emperor, doubted not that, if that course were followed, the immediate return of order would be the result.

If the Emperor really thought as he says he does in this letter, it indicates that he was singularly ignorant of the social condition of Italy, of the state of opinion and temper among the Italians in all parts of the peninsula, and of the forces which, more or less overtly, were at work from one end to the other of it. But there are other portions of his policy, and other of his utterances on the subject previously and subsequently, which would go to show that he really was thus ignorant, and that his suggestions to the Holy Father may, therefore, have been sincerely made.

The Pope, who knew better, replied on the 8th of

January, 1860. He points out, with unanswerable force of argument, that the guarantee of the European Powers, which then declined to use force for the restoration to him of the Legations, to which they admit his right, would be worth little as an assurance to the Holy See that it would not subsequently be despoiled of what remained to it, seeing that the same reasons which availed to dissuade them from using force in the present case would exist and continue equally cogent in the future case. But the consideration which was paramount with Pius the Ninth, which ruled then and has ruled his conduct ever since, is set forth in the following words: "A project of such a nature presents insurmountable difficulties; and to acquire a conviction that such is the case, it will suffice to reflect on my situation, on my sacred character, and on the rights of the Holy See—rights which are not those of a dynasty, but of all Catholics. The difficulties are insurmountable because *I can not* give up that which does not belong to me. . . . I find myself under the obligation of declaring openly to your Majesty that *I can not* yield the Legations without violating the solemn oaths which bind me; without producing an evil and a shock to the other provinces; without

doing evil and causing injury to all the Catholic world."

The letter is very long, and in parts devoid neither of strength of argument or of eloquence. But the important kernel of it is contained in the above passage. It is the authoritative declaration of the *non possumus*, which has become proverbial, and which has been the unbending rule by which the Pontiff has governed the whole of his subsequent conduct.

CHAPTER VIII.

FRENCH VIEW OF THE POPE'S POSITION ERRONEOUS.—TEMPERAMENT OF PIUS THE NINTH.—ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF THE 19TH OF JANUARY.—REPLY OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.—COMMUNICATION BY THE MEANS OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR ON THE 12TH OF FEBRUARY.—PROPOSALS OF PIEDMONT OFFENSIVE TO THE HOLY FATHER.—LETTER OF PIUS TO VICTOR EMMANUEL.—ANNEXATION OF THE LEGATIONS.—PROTEST AND COMPLAINT OF THE POPE.—ALL CONCERNED IN THE ANNEXATION EXCOMMUNICATED.—PAPAL GOVERNMENT ARMS.—LAMORICIÈRE APPOINTED GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.—HIS ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.—ISOLATION OF THE HOLY FATHER.—FURTHER DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS.—PROPOSALS OF FRANCE AND OF AUSTRIA.—REJECTED IN TOTO BY THE PONTIFF, 14TH APRIL, 1860.—DIFFICULT POSITION OF THE PIEDMONTESE GOVERNMENT.—COMMUNICATION BY CAVOUR TO CARDINAL ANTONELLI.—REPLY OF ANTONELLI.—FRANCE WITHDRAWS HER MINISTER FROM TURIN.—DETERMINATION OF CAVOUR.—BATTLE OF CASTEL FIDARDO.

THERE can be no doubt now, even if there could have been any doubt at the time, that the Emperor was mistaken in supposing that the Pope could have secured the possession of his other provinces by relin-

quishing the Legations, and that the Holy Father was right in his opinion and declaration that the guarantees suggested for giving him that security would prove illusory. The months of this 1860 must have been a very bitter time to the Pontiff! He had discovered during the early years of his pontificate that he had no friends among his own subjects, that the requirements of his position as Pope-king inevitably placed a barrier of dissension and hatred between them and him. He was now to find himself equally deserted and left alone in face of his enemies by all his brother sovereigns! The experience of those months would have gone far to kill any man killable by disappointment and sorrow! But Pius the Ninth did not grow thin; his cheek did not pale; his eye retained its brightness; the magnificent volume of his voice rolled in as full a body as ever through the Hall of Consistory, as he pronounced allocution after allocution, despairing enough in the tenor of them, to the assembled Cardinals. And so it has been during the whole of his long life! Sorrow seems to have no hold on him—passes over him as water from a duck's back! Of course, in the estimation of the devout of his own world-wide flock, the explanation of the phenomenon

is not far to seek! How should such a man be suffered to faint for want of support? How should the "Definer" of the Immaculate Conception be without the even miraculously given comfort of Mary the Consoler? While minds cast in a different mould will probably see in the same facts only the natural results of an eupeptic condition of the organism, together with a certain manifestation of that hardness to all exterior troubles of a not absolutely personal description, which is often seen to accompany the melodramatic temperament, and which the reader will find strongly marked in other circumstances of the Pontiff's life.

On the 19th of January Pius issued an encyclical letter to all the Bishops of the Catholic world, assuring them of his unalterable determination to maintain to the utmost of his ability the entirety and inviolability of his temporal power, "which is a matter of interest to all the Catholic world." He goes on to call upon them "never to cease from every effort and endeavour to protect the Catholic Church and this Holy See, and for the preservation of the civil sovereignty of the same, and of the patrimony of St. Peter, the defence of which belongs to all Catholics."

The French Government put forth a reply to this

encyclic on the 8th of February, in which it was insisted that "the Court of Rome was not well inspired in endeavouring to establish a sort of indissoluble connection between two orders of interests which cannot be confounded without danger." This, it is abundantly evident, is a mere begging of the question. The document, however, goes on to point out that it was not then for the first time that the situation of the Legations had been examined under a purely political aspect, which is true enough. But it would have been more to the purpose if the French Foreign Office had shown, as they might so easily and so abundantly have done from the pages of the history of medieval Italy, the absurdity of maintaining that the due discharge of the duties and functions of the Papacy depended on the possession of sovereign power which the Popes did not possess till comparatively modern times.

A few days later, on the 12th of February, the French Government addressed a letter to the Duc de Grammont, then Ambassador at Rome, in which the Pope was again urged to separate the religious from the political question, and allow the question of the Legations to be debated on that footing.

Cardinal Antonelli replied to these despatches on

the 29th of the same month, urging at length that the discontent, disaffection, and rebellion in the Legations had not been caused by any maladministration of the Papal Government, but had been produced purposely and artificially by means from without—in short, by Piedmont; that the religious and the political questions were, in the case of the Pontiff, inseparable; and that it was impossible for the Holy Father to yield that which was in fact a principle.

On the 2nd of March a long conference took place between Antonelli and the French ambassador, in which the former again declared that the Pope would never come to any accord for the cession of the Legations. About the same time, the King of Sardinia, or rather Count Cavour, in his name, sent a long letter to Pius the Ninth, justifying himself for the part he had taken in promoting Italian unity, and concluding by saying that if the Pope "would demand my frank and loyal assistance, a way might be found to establish, not only in Romagna, but also in the Marches and Umbria, such a state of things that, reserving for the Church her superior sovereignty, and assuring to the Supreme Pontiff a glorious position at the head of the Italian nation,

would cause the inhabitants of those provinces to partake in the benefits which a strong and supremely national Government assures to the districts of Central Italy."

The Pope was highly offended at these proposals, as well he might be! A more palpable, one might almost say insolent, attempt to throw dust in the eyes of an adversary, was surely never made! A more foolish attempt too, it might be thought! Could Cavour have deemed it possible that the Pope and Antonelli, and his other counsellors, could have been caught with such chaff? The probability is that he never did deem any such result of his letter possible; and that it was intended only as a contribution to the justification for the line of conduct already determined on, which it was desirable to prepare for contemporary diplomatic Europe and for future history.

The Pope replied to it by a letter to the King, in which he told him that the idea he had put forward was "not a wise one, and certainly not worthy of a Catholic sovereign, and specially of a King of the House of Savoy! My reply," added his Holiness, "has already been printed in my encyclical letter to the Bishops of the Catholic world, which you may

easily read. For the rest, I am afflicted, not for myself, but for the unhappy condition of your Majesty's soul, entangled as you are in censures which will fall on you with greater weight when the act of sacrilege, which you and yours have the intention of committing, shall have been consummated."

In March the act was consummated, the first of sundry acts of the same kind that were to follow. The Legations, by vote of the populations, declared that they would no longer be subjects of the Pontiff, but would be united to the kingdom of the King of Sardinia. And the Piedmontese Government accepted the proposal. On the 20th of March the King wrote a second letter to Pius the Ninth, giving his reasons for acting as he had done for the advantage of Italy, and promising that, if the Pope would enter into negotiations with his Government, he would make up to the Holy See anything that might be lost to it in revenue from the loss of the provinces in question. On the 2nd of April the Pope replied, declaring, of course, the impossibility of his coming to any such terms in any way. With regard to the statement that the populations of the revolted provinces had declared by universal suffrage

that they would no longer belong to the Pope, Pius the Ninth remarks : " I might tell you that the so-called universal suffrage was not spontaneous, but imposed on the people; but upon this subject I abstain from asking the opinion of your Majesty on universal suffrage, as I refrain also from manifesting mine." The Holy Father concludes his letter, which is written in a very severe tone throughout, by saying that when his Majesty shall calmly read over again the letter which he had written to him, he will find in it much cause for repentance !

Cardinal Antonelli at the same time protested against the spoliation of the Church in a circular addressed to the representatives of the Powers, in which he expressed the Holy Father's persuasion that the different Governments will not recognise such an act of usurpation. And on the 26th of March the Pope published a brief, in which he declares that, " in the crafty and perverse machinations," which have resulted in detaching the Legations from the Apostolic dominions, " the Subalpine Government has taken the principal part; not only, I say it with horror, despising my admonitions, my complaints, and all ecclesiastical penalties, but stiff-necked in its dishonesty against all right, extorted a

popular vote by dint of money, of threats, of terror, and other artifices." He, therefore, after having by both public and private prayer implored the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit, and after having taken counsel with "a select congregation of our venerable brothers the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church," again and afresh pronounces the greater excommunication against all who have in any way whatsoever, either by word, deed, or wish, contributed to the detachment of the provinces in question from the Apostolic See.

Finding himself entirely abandoned by the Powers of Europe, and left wholly to his own resources, the Holy Father and his counsellors determined to do all that in them lay to protect at least the provinces which yet remained to them, if not to act on the offensive for the recovery of those already lost. In April the Prelate De Merode, who in his early youth had fought in Africa, was named Minister of War; and his first act was to appoint General Lamoricière, a French general in retreat, commander-in-chief of the papal army.

On Easter day, the 8th of April, the general issued an address to his troops, which is perhaps worth giving to the reader, as an indication of the

ideas with which the clerical world went into the struggle for the preservation of the temporal power of the Church :

"His Holiness, our Lord Pius the Ninth, having deigned to call me to the honourable task of commanding you for the defence of his rights, disregarded and threatened, I have not hesitated an instant to take again my sword in hand. At the sound of that mighty voice, which recently issued from the Vatican to make known to the world the dangers which threatened the patrimony of St. Peter, the Catholic world stirred itself, and the emotion rapidly diffused itself over the whole world. From that it is clear that Christianity is not only the religion of the civilised world, but the principle and the life itself of civilisation. It shows, too, that the Pope is the foundation on which Christianity rests. All the Christian nations seem at the present moment to be conscious of these great truths, which constitute our faith. The revolution menaces Europe at the present day, as Islamism menaced it formerly; and now, as formerly, the cause of the Papacy is that of civilisation and of the liberties of the world. Soldiers! have faith, and be certain

that God will sustain our courage at the height demanded by the cause, the defence of which He has entrusted to our hands."

The cause for which General Lamoricière took up his sword was foredoomed to failure, exactly because each one of the assertions in his address was very accurately the reverse of the truth. How far the General and his employers believed the truth to be as he states it is of course another matter, and one of less importance. That reference to Islamism indicates very completely the idea of the question pending between the Papacy and the lay world which the Church and its friends held, and which they would fain have persuaded themselves and others was held by the rest of mankind. A new Crusade was what was needed! "The revolution" (a phrase which is always used technically by the Church and its friends to signify the opposition to ecclesiastical domination and claims which has been produced by modern thought, whether found in conjunction with one or with another school of political opinion; so that Bismarck, M. Thiers, Victor Hugo, Minghetti and Victor Emmanuel are all equally "revolutionists" in the language of the

Vatican)—the revolution stands in the place of Saladin, and all civilised Europe is to rush with the old battle-cry to the rescue! But the Christian nations do *not* seem at the present moment to be conscious of the truths General Lamoricière thinks so evident to them! The world is persuaded that the cause of the Papacy is *not* that of civilisation and of the liberties of mankind. The emotion caused by the misfortunes of the Pope did *not* rapidly diffuse itself over the whole world! On the contrary, the world looked on with feelings which effectually prevented even those fellow-sovereigns who might have wished to lend the Pope a helping hand from doing so. It was clear that no help would come that would be of any avail. What did happen is stated with great accuracy by the annalist Coppi, the continuer of Muratori's work, who albeit himself a priest, and not without ecclesiastical wishes and proclivities, is entirely to be trusted.

"At the news," says the annalist, "that the menaced Pope was arming against the Liberal supporters of modern ideas, malcontent Germans, Belgians, Irish, and especially French Legitimists, hastened to Rome, eager to fight for the re-establishment of the ancient governments and ways, together

with the influence of the Supreme Head of the Church."

Meantime diplomatic attempts to arrange the matters in dispute continued. France was especially anxious to arrive at some result which the Holy Father would accept. For her own position was a difficult one. The fact that she was compelling Italians to submit to a retrograde government of very much worse character than that which at the cost of revolution France had rejected for herself, cried aloud to the conscience of the civilised world! It was in the April of that year that France made the overtures to Austria for a common action for the arrangement of the affairs of the Holy Father, which occasioned such a renewed refusal on the part of the Pontiff to come to any terms, as led the French Government to give up all attempt at negotiation. The proposal to the Austrian Government was to the effect, that inasmuch as the Holy Father felt himself precluded from publishing his intentions respecting reforms in his administration as long as the Legations were in a condition of rebellion, and inasmuch as there was no present prospect of his being able to recover his possession of those provinces, the Holy Father should enact such

reforms as should be expedient in the provinces which remained to him, making a reservation in regard to the Legations; that the Catholic Powers should contribute a yearly sum each towards the maintenance of the Holy See, to be inscribed on the register of the national debt in each country; and that these measures would, as it was suggested, have so good an effect on the inhabitants of the provinces remaining to the Apostolic See, that it would become possible for the Holy Father to dispense with ulterior foreign support.

The Papal Government, immediately on the contents of this communication being brought to its knowledge, lost not an hour in replying (14th April, 1860) that it would have none of these things! However tempting the corn in the sieve might be, his Holiness started away from it with undisguised misgiving and alarm!

In the first place, the Holy See could consent to no protocol or document of any kind in which any reserve respecting the Legations was introduced, because it might seem as if the Apostolic Government thereby admitted that something had been done which established a difference between those provinces and the remainder of the ecclesiastical domi-

nions. The Holy See would put its hand to no document save one which should express its own unalterable determination to use its utmost power for the recovery of those provinces, and the purpose of the other signatories that they should be restored by the Power which had usurped them to the victim of his usurpation.

In the second place, the Holy See would never accept any guarantee for its remaining provinces, because that also would imply the recognition of a difference between the position of those which had revolted and that of the others.

In the third place, the Pope would not accept any sum guaranteed by the Catholic Powers, unless, perhaps, it took the form of compensation for certain ancient canonical dues on vacant benefices formerly paid.

On the communication of these determinations of the Holy See to the French Government, Thouvenel, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to the Duc de Grammont, ambassador resident at Rome, that, since the Holy Father placed himself in a point of view so different from theirs, they could not cherish any hope of modifying it, and could only, with infinite regret, leave it to time to bring the Apostolic Govern-

ment to resolutions more consistent with its own interests.

Meanwhile the situation was becoming exceedingly difficult for the Subalpine Government. The motley bands of Catholic supporters which the Papal Government had succeeded in collecting were probably sufficient to put down any attempt at insurrection in the provinces which had not been annexed to Piedmont, if the Pope and his army on the one side, and the populations of the provinces on the other, were left to settle the question between them. And it might, in that case, have been possible, terrible as was the prospect of the forcible repression of the insurrectionary tendencies of these unhappy provinces by cosmopolitan bands of foreign mercenaries, to wait till time, as the French Minister had said, should bring the Apostolic Government to better counsels. But that was not the condition of the problem. There was Garibaldi to be reckoned with—Garibaldi and his volunteers, animated by an enthusiasm for Italian unity which was raging at blood-heat from one end of the peninsula to the other. If the troops of the Piedmontese Government held aloof and did not enter the Pope's provinces, Garibaldi would! But it may be urged that it was the duty of Victor

Emmanuel's Government to restrain its subjects from filibustering enterprises against a neighbouring state. But was it in the power of Cavour and the Piedmontese Government to do so? The attempt to answer this demand would lead to an examination of the much-vexed and intricate question of the genuineness and good faith of all the professed desire and efforts of the Turin Government to restrain Garibaldi and his volunteers. It can hardly be believed that Victor Emmanuel's Government really wished that Garibaldi and his associates should desist from their effort and remain quiet, so as to take from the Turin Ministry all pretext for intervening; and it is probable that if the Piedmontese Government had really and in earnest exerted all its power to check Garibaldi and crush the filibustering of his volunteers, that would have very seriously risked Victor Emmanuel's crown—not, perhaps, in his old dominions in Piedmont, but in the newly-annexed provinces—and would have fatally compromised the hope of national unity. But, at the same time, there was equal or greater danger in remaining inactive and allowing Garibaldi and the volunteers to act freely against the papal troops, in concert with the insurgent population of the Pope's provinces. The result

would have been the proclamation of an anarchic republic after terrible scenes of disorder and carnage, to be crushed afterwards by Austria or by France. Cavour determined to intervene, and to send the troops of Piedmont across the papal frontier. On the 7th of September he wrote to Antonelli, sending his letter to Civita Vecchia, where it was delivered to the pontifical governor, to be sent to Rome. This despatch, pointing out that his Sardinian Majesty could not stand by and see Italians subjected to the undisciplined violences of a horde of foreign mercenaries, informed the Cardinal that the King's troops had orders to prevent, "in the name of the rights of humanity," the pontifical mercenary bands from repressing by violence the sentiments of the populations of the Marches and Umbria. The writer, therefore, invites his Eminence to give immediate orders for the disarmament and dispersion of those troops, "the existence of which is a continual menace to the tranquillity of Italy."

The Pontiff and his Ministers were, as may be imagined, furious. On the 12th of the same month the Cardinal sent his reply.

Passing over, he says, the irregular manner in which the despatch of Count Cavour had reached

his hands, he had given it calm attention, but must declare that he had been obliged, in doing so, to put a very strong restraint upon himself. He goes on to complain, at considerable length, of the injustice, falsehood, and calumny of the accusations brought against the pontifical troops, the unheard-of novelty of the pretension that a Sovereign could not be permitted to take foreign soldiers into his pay, and the wrong which was being done to the Apostolic See, and concludes by saying: "Your Excellency finishes your disgusting* communication by inviting me, in the name of your Sovereign, to order immediately the disarmament and dispersion of the troops in question, and the invitation is not unaccompanied by a sort of threat to the effect that Piedmont will otherwise impede the action of the troops in question by means of the royal forces. A *quasi* intimation is thus manifested [one would have said that it was by no means "*quasi*"], which I willingly abstain from characterising. The Holy See can only reject it with indignation, knowing itself to be strong in its legitimate right, and appealing to the law of nations.'

The principal difficulty of the situation as regarded

* "*Disgustosa.*" Perhaps the sense would be more accurately given by the word "distasteful."

Piedmont, however, arose from the line of conduct adopted by France. Immediately on the communication to the French Government of the note sent by Cavour to that of Rome, the Emperor ordered Talleyrand, then his Minister at the Court of Turin, to declare to Count Cavour that, unless he could assure the French Government that no results would follow from the note sent to Antonelli, France "would be under the necessity of breaking off diplomatic relations with the Court of Turin, and of publicly disapproving a policy which it considered harmful to the tranquillity of Europe, and fatal to the future of Italy." This communication was made by Talleyrand on the 10th of September. On the following day Cavour said to Talleyrand: "If we are not at La Cattolica* before Garibaldi, it is all up with us! (*siamo perduti*). The revolution will run over the whole of Italy. We are compelled to act!" And Talleyrand thereupon quitted Turin.

The short story of the little campaign which followed these diplomatic transactions does not belong in anywise to this place. The result—a very foregone conclusion—which happened on the 18th of September at Castel Fidardo—the battle-field is within sight of

* A small town on the frontier of the Marches, towards Ancona.

the great Church of Loretto and of the conventual buildings attached to it—and at Ancona, is sufficiently well known; and Pius the Ninth, who fifteen years previously had entered on his pontificate amid the enthusiastic applause and affection of his own people, and the good wishes and favourable anticipations of all Christendom, found his dominions reduced to his capital city and the province lying around it, and himself the most bitterly-hated individual in all Italy.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE VICTORY OF CASTEL FIDARDO, ON THE 18TH SEPTEMBER, 1860, TO THE SUSPENSION OF THE ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL, ON THE 18TH JULY, 1870.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONSTANCY OF PIUS THE NINTH.—HIS DAUNTLESS DETERMINATION.—PRUDENCE OF HIS CONDUCT AS REGARDS THE CHURCH.—QUESTION OF FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION.—LIMITS OF THE PONTIFICAL DOMINIONS AFTER CASTEL FIDARDO.—VOTATION OF THE MARCHES AND UMBRIA.—VARIOUS PROJECTS FOR ARRANGING THE PAPAL AFFAIRS.—CAVOUR'S DECLARATION OF THE NECESSITY OF HAVING ROME.—PAPAL ALLOCUTION.—A SECOND ALLOCUTION.—EFFORTS AND VIEWS OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.—DIFFICULTIES OF THE EMPEROR.—OPINION OF THIERS.—ABSOLUTE UNYIELDINGNESS OF THE POPE.—GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ITALY AND FRANCE BEFORE AND AFTER CASTEL FIDARDO.—CONVENTION FIXING THE ITALIAN CAPITAL AT FLORENCE.—THE PONTIFF REMAINS ENTIRELY INFLEXIBLE.

THE "nailing of colours to the mast" is an operation which, if often of doubtful political expediency, has always appealed to emotions and sympathies which have their root in the noblest portion of the complex nature of mankind, and has rarely, so far as ensuring the admiration and applause of the crowd goes,

appealed in vain. But religious—or rather ecclesiastical—prejudices and hatreds, which have their root in some of the meanest and lowest passions of humanity, have prevented the contemporary world of Pius the Ninth and his little band of counsellors from awarding to them the meed of appreciation on this score, which has been fairly their due. No ship of war going down, with every man of her crew standing at their guns, rather than strike their colours to the enemy, has shown to the world a more indomitable preference of duty to expediency than has the absolute and consistent refusal of the Pontiff to bend to the storm which has raged around him.

Unquestionably it was in his power to have made himself safe, and have baffled (for the time) all the attempts at Italian unity, if he would have consented to accept an European guarantee for the inviolability of the little sovereignty of Rome and the immediately surrounding districts as the price of abandoning all claim to the other provinces which had been taken from him. He might probably have secured even Umbria and the Marches on the same terms. No question of revenue need have entered into his calculations—no doubt, did not so enter. Revenue was offered him by the Catholic Govern-

ments; and experience has shown that even apart from this, he could abundantly trust to the generosity and devotion of his own flock. He might have remained the Sovereign of Rome, guaranteed to him by Europe, with a plentiful revenue, with every facility for the performance of the gorgeous ceremonials of his Church, and maintaining in all their ancient and accustomed splendour the dignity and importance of the Sacred College, the princes of the Church; but he refused the bait with unflinching constancy, because his duty, as he understood and saw it, forbade him to accept the tempting alternative. He has fought a good fight, and even yet continues with might and main to fight to the last. He has been brought down to his knees—not in supplication to his enemies, but as the old hero at Otterburn was, because his legs have been cut from under him; and he continues like him to fight on his stumps! The old man is going down with his face to his foes, using every arm that has been left him to the last! It cannot be denied that it is, from certain points of view, a gallant sight! And that is what has made him to the people of his own Church such an object of admiration, devotion, and veneration as few Popes, if ever any one, have been.

We—*nous autres*—cannot stretch a hand to aid or comfort him. For what he wants is to lop from the tree of humanity all the choicest blossoms which have been produced by the slow growth of countless centuries! What he wants is, what many an aged father has wanted, to push back his adult son into a go-cart and leading strings! In short we all know what he wants, and that even if we were any of us desirous of giving it to him, it would be wholly impossible to do so. But, after all, this is only begging the question as between him and us. We say so! He thinks otherwise! And both parties must do their duty accordingly. But that need not prevent us from recognising that there has been something very grand about his unshakable firmness.

It has been thought by some of his own Church, and by many of those outside its pale, that Pius the Ninth and those who have counselled and aided him, have from their own point of view—that of men bound in conscience and in honour to act for the best interests of the Church—been mistaken in rejecting so absolutely all the terms offered to them; that they would have done better for the Church if they had accepted the restricted sovereignty which was offered to them; that they have injured their

own cause by making the claims of their Church so high and so enormous, as to increase the number of those who cannot persuade themselves to grant them. But it seems to me that those who hold this opinion take a lower, a narrower and shorter view of the matter in question than Pius the Ninth and his advisers. I think that they underrate the value of a principle as operative on the minds of men. An attempt at compromise and conciliation would not have secured the allegiance of minds not cast in the mould of those to whom authority is acceptable and the acceptance of it possible; while unbending and unfaltering consistency of principle is well calculated to secure and rivet the devotion and excite the zeal and enthusiasm of that class of minds which, looking a little into the future, can alone be counted on as the supporters of any Church.

The Pope and his supporters have, I think, made a mistake in putting forward so prominently and insistantly the necessity that the Holy Father should have secure and free communication with the Bishops and the heads of the Church throughout the Catholic world as a reason why temporal sovereignty should be necessary to him. He absolutely refused throughout the negotiations, the course

of which we have been tracing, to allow any difference to be established, even inferentially, between the Legations and the provinces nearer Rome, on the ground that all were equally his, and the wrong done by usurping any of them as absolutely a wrong as the usurpation of all. And this was the true ground to take. For it would have been very difficult to show—we may say, rather, impossible to maintain—that whereas the sovereignty of Rome and the district around the city could not secure the freedom of communication desired, the more extended sovereignty did so! And it seems in truth an equally untenable position that the sovereignty of the city and its province would secure the freedom in question, whereas the *sovereignty* within his own residence does not accomplish the end in view. For the freedom of communication with foreign Bishops must depend not on the sovereignty in existence in the spot whence the communications are sent, but on that which exists in the country to which they are sent. Temporal sovereignty over the whole Catholic world would alone secure the freedom of communication desired. The communications, let them take what form they may, can as easily be intercepted at the point where they leave

the papal territory, be it more or less extensive, sa they can be on leaving the Vatican. They can also be intercepted at the entry into the territory of the sovereign under whose sway the Bishop, with whom it is desired to communicate, is residing. In a word, it cannot be maintained that any temporal sovereignty is needed for the purpose put forward, because no temporal sovereignty, short of one co-extensive with the Catholic world, would attain the end in view.

The sovereignty still enjoyed by the Holy Father was now reduced to Rome and the provinces immediately around it; if even he could be said to be sovereign there, while in truth the real masters were the French troops, which on the 6th of October, 1860, occupied Viterbo, Velletri, Civita Castellana, Tivoli, Palestrina, Frascati, Albano, and Valmontone — every part in short of the territory over which the Pope still nominally ruled. It is true their real object was to protect the Holy Father from the attempts and incursions of Garibaldi and his volunteers.

The result of the votation of the population of Umbria and the Marches on the question whether they would be annexed to the new kingdom of Italy

and become subjects of Victor Emmanuel, or would remain subjects of the Pope, was in Umbria the record of 97,075 votes for the sovereignty of Victor Emmanuel, and 380 for that of the Roman Pontiff; in the Marches, 133,783 for the former, and 1212 for the latter alternative. There is no reason whatever for thinking that the votes were not truly given as recorded; and there can be no question that the hatred for the Apostolic Government was very great, and the enthusiasm for the new kingdom of united Italy immense. But none the less was the "plebiscite" a farce, as such an attempt always must be; and the irony of Pius the Ninth, when he wrote to the King of Sardinia, that he would abstain from inquiring what his Majesty thought of universal suffrage, as well as from expressing his own opinion on the subject, was entirely justified.

How far Pius the Ninth and those in whose judgment he trusted were at that time able to foresee that no long time would elapse before he would be deprived of the remaining shred of territory which he still held, it is impossible to say. But he and they surely might have done so without any remarkable sagacity in reading the signs of the times. Various ideas were subsequently put forth by those

who were anxious that the affairs of Italy should be finally and permanently settled in some not altogether intolerable fashion, and by some who were desirous of securing some remnant of sovereign authority for the supreme Pontiff, with a view to such an arrangement. It was proposed that Rome itself should be made into a little sovereignty for his Holiness; then that his domain should be restricted to the "Leonine City," as it is called; that is to say, to that portion of the city which is on the right bank of the river, including the Vatican, Castel St. Angelo, and St. Peter's, together with a small portion only of the town. But, as might readily have been foreseen, all such schemes, even had they given much better promise of being practically realisable than they did, were foredoomed to failure, from the constancy with which the Pope refused to lend himself to any transaction or compromise whatsoever.

At the opening of the Piedmontese Parliament, on the 18th of February, 1861, Victor Emmanuel said in his address to the Houses: "In other circumstances my words were bold. But wisdom consists no less in daring at the right time, than knowing how to temporise on occasion. Devoted as I am to Italy, I have never hesitated to risk for her my life and my

crown. But no man has a right to endanger the existence and the destinies of a nation."

This meant that any attempt to realise the national aspirations by seizing on Rome would be too dangerous in the then conditions of Europe; and that the nation must be content to wait yet awhile for that fulfilment of its desires. And on the 22nd of the following month, the French Legislature rejected by a majority of 246 votes against 5 a proposition for the immediate evacuation of Rome by the French troops.

But events were marching rapidly; and three days later, on the 25th of March, Cavour in the first sitting of the Deputies for the "kingdom of Italy," of which Victor Emmanuel had accepted the sovereignty on the preceding 17th of the same month, said: "I consider myself obliged to proclaim in the most solemn manner before the nation the necessity of having Rome as the capital of Italy, because without Rome for the capital, Italy cannot be constituted. I have said, gentlemen," he repeated, "and I affirm yet once again, that Rome, and Rome only, can be the capital of Italy."

The Pontiff meantime, immediately on the promulgation of the law by virtue of which Victor

Emmanuel assumed the title of King of Italy, in a secret Consistory held on the 18th of that same month of March, after having described modern civilisation in such terms as may be readily imagined, continued: "And this is the civilisation to which it is supposed that the Roman Pontiff can hold out a friendly hand! When that which is not right is demanded of us, we cannot grant the prayer. If instead, our pardon were asked for, we should be abundantly disposed to grant it!"

On the 30th of the following August, the Pope held another secret Consistory, in which he addressed the Sacred College in an allocution in which the following passage occurs:

"There is no man who does not see what a sequence of calamities, crimes, and evils of every kind has been let loose, especially on unhappy Italy, since the great and criminal rebellion committed there. For, to use the words of the prophet, malediction, falsehood, homicide, robbery, and adultery have inundated the world, and blood has been covered with blood! But inasmuch as we have the divine promise of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He will be with His Church even until the consummation of ages, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail

against it, we are sure that God will not fail in His word; and that the day will come when God shall show that this terrible tempest has not been raised to submerge the vessel of the Church, but on the contrary to exalt it."

A few months later the French Government made a renewed attempt to induce the Pope to consent to the opening of negotiations with a view to conciliation with the Italian Government. M. Thouvenel writes to the French Ambassador at Rome, then M. de la Vallette, in the following terms: "All that we have now to inquire is whether we may nourish, or whether we must abandon, the hope of seeing the Apostolic Court lend itself, while admitting *faits accomplis*, to the study of some combination which should assure to the sovereign Pontiff such permanent conditions of dignity, of security, and independence as are necessary for the exercise of his power. This order of ideas once admitted, we would use our most sincere and most energetic efforts to cause such a plan of conciliation as we should arrange with the Holy See to be accepted at Turin."

And the Apostolic Government could have had no doubt as to the sincerity of the intention of France that the base and *sine qua non* of any such

project should be the assurance of the temporal power of the Pope in that portion of his dominions which still remained to him. In the January of 1864 the legislative body of France rejected a proposal for the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome by 218 votes to 121 And on the 11th of November, 1866, after the convention, in accordance with which the Italian capital was moved to Florence, the French Foreign Minister writes to the French Ambassador at Rome : " The Emperor has always desired the independence of the Holy See, and that of Italy. Now that Italy is definitively constituted, the affirmation of the temporal power of the Pope becomes henceforward the main object of our efforts." And a few days later the Emperor sends General Fleury on a confidential mission to the Italian Court, charged to make the following " categorical declarations " to the King of Italy and his Ministers : " 1st. The Emperor, both from regard for what is right and from political considerations, cannot abandon the Holy Father ; and will employ all his efforts to prevent him from leaving Rome. 2nd. The Emperor is persuaded that the King both will and can keep all quiet in Italy ; but if, when the French troops shall have left Rome, the Pope

should be driven to withdraw by reason of a popular movement, the Emperor will not hesitate to bring him back by means of his army. And to this end he will always have a force of twenty thousand men between Toulon and Marseilles ready to be transported to Civita Vecchia at the first call."

There could be no doubt, in short, as to the wishes of the French Emperor and of the French nation with regard to the maintenance of what remained of the temporal power of the Pope, either in the minds of the Italians or in that of the Pontiff. Of course nobody imagines that this policy and this determination was the result of religious principle, feeling, or conviction of any sort. It was the continuance of the same policy which led Napoleon to strive so perseveringly to induce Tuscany to declare its wish for Tuscan autonomy and a separate Tuscan Government. It was the same policy which led M. Thiers to say on the 14th of March, 1867, in the French Chamber: "If I had the honour of directing the affairs of France, I would employ all the forces at my command to prevent Italian unity." Again six days later the same statesman said to the same audience: "You have produced Italian unity, and it is a great misfortune." The complaints which were raised in

the French Senate to the effect that the ideal of the Mediterranean becoming a French lake was now destroyed, are a further indication, if any such were needed, of the real wishes and feelings which moved France to insist on the maintenance of the temporal power of the Pontiff.

Nevertheless the course of the Emperor was not an easy or a clear one. As far back as the 30th May, 1862, the French Minister, M. de Thouvenel, directs the French Ambassador at Rome, when once again presenting to the Papal Government fresh propositions for an accord on the basis of the *status quo*, to "let the Papal Government understand, if you are met by the theory of immovability as categorically as heretofore—if, that is, the Pontiff persists in his *Non possumus*—that the Government of the Emperor cannot conform its conduct to any such theory; and that if the Emperor should unhappily acquire the conviction that his efforts would be henceforth useless, it would become necessary for him, while guarding as far as possible the interests which he has been hitherto solicitous to protect, to take thought for coming out himself from a situation, which if prolonged beyond certain limits would give a wrong direction to his policy, and would only serve

to throw the minds of people into a yet greater disorder."

But the Pope and his little band of counsellors were as impervious to threats as to entreaties and promises. Alone during all the complicated negotiations of the years which intervened between the discomfiture of the papal troops at Castel Fidardo and Ancona, which limited the Pontiff's temporal power to Rome and its immdeiately surrounding provinces, and the entrance of the Italian army into Rome on the 20th of September, 1870, which finally put an end to it, the Holy Father remained absolutely the same and immovable! "We can't! We won't! We will listen to no proposals, no agreements! We will come to no terms with the spoiler and usurper. Do you come to announce to us that our provinces are to be restored to us, and that our enemies sue for our pardon? If so, we are ready to hear you and talk with you! But we can listen to nothing else!" From the time that the Italian monarch and nation accepted the votation which annexed the Legations to the kingdom of Italy, to this present day, nothing has induced the Pope to waver for an instant!

I have said that the negotiations which were

going on during these years chiefly between Italy and France, with every now and then a fresh appeal to the Holy Father, which met with the same invariable answer, were complicated. And as regards the steps by which Italy gradually crept on towards her object, and the opposition, constant in its aim and views, varied in its means and degree of vehemence, which France opposed to that object, they were such—too much such by far for any detailed account of them to find its proper place in these pages. But the general drift of them all may be briefly characterised. France having victoriously fought to turn Austria out of Lombardy, because it seemed to her better that little Piedmont, which would never be made strong enough by the acquisition of that province to cause any umbrage to France, should possess it, and having figured before Europe and before her own people as the champion of Liberalism and progress against Austria, the champion of the opposite views and policy, could not, as openly, avowedly, and straightforwardly as Austria would have done, support the Pope in his demands to be allowed to govern his states as he pleased. Yet, if she had taken Lombardy from Austria and given it to Piedmont, only to lay the

foundation of a strong and powerful kingdom at her own doors, a rival Latin kingdom, she would, as Thiers saw and said, have made a very terrible mistake. Therefore the Pope had to be supported and protected, and the religious necessity of his temporal power put forward as the motive and excuse for giving him such support, not without difficulty and some shamefacedness. The Pope, too, made the difficulty of the part France had to play very provokingly great by his absolute and impracticable unyieldingness. France proposed to interfere to temper difficulties, to conciliate, to smooth the shocks and conjure the dangers incidental to such a change as was taking place in Italy. But she conciliated nothing and smoothed over no difficulties, because the Holy Father would not be conciliated, or even pretend to moderate his position by a hair's-breadth!

Italy, on the other hand, had her object clear before her; but she was not strong enough to venture to advance towards it in spite of French opposition; and she had at the same time to count with Garibaldi and the volunteers, and the seething excitement of the nation. And these things were at once an assistance and a source of embarrassment to

her. They were an assistance inasmuch as they helped her to force Napoleon's hand, and formed an excuse for taking a more active part in seconding the aspirations of the nation than she could otherwise have ventured to do. But they were at the same time a source of embarrassment, in that there was real reason to fear that Garibaldi's success might have resulted in landing the nation, or at least the southern portions of it, in an anarchical republic instead of a compact and orderly monarchy, and also that his temerities might have the effect of seriously embroiling the Government of Victor Emmanuel with the Emperor. And this is the explanation of the doubtful, sometimes inconsistent, and not straightforward conduct of the Turin Government towards the volunteers and Garibaldi—a line of conduct which the attitude of France rendered unavoidable, and the evil results of which have not by any means yet altogether ceased to vex the young nation.

The convention between Italy and France, by which it was arranged that Italy should undertake not to attack or to permit to be attacked the territory of the Holy Father, that France should withdraw her troops from the pontifical dominions, and that Italy should move her capital to Florence, was

signed on the 15th of September, 1864. And the Pontiff might have been tempted to acquiesce in that arrangement, which the contracting parties professed to consider, and which France doubtless intended should be, the definitive systemisation of Italy, as assuring to him the domains which remained to him, while finally destroying all hope of recovering those which he had lost. But he yielded to no such temptation. Then, as all through those weary years, he remained firm in his refusal to abandon one iota of his claim, or to consider the Government of the Sardinian King in the provinces beyond his old frontier aught else than a wicked and lawless usurpation. To him alone, of all those who were more or less prominently concerned in arranging the affairs of Europe, did his course appear clear before him and unobscured by doubts or conflicting considerations. To each new application inviting him to come to terms with those who had it in their power to compel obedience to their wishes; to deign to modify his own system of Government in the states remaining to him in such sort as to render it more tolerable to those subjected to it, and less a disgrace in the face of Europe to those who were supporting it by force of arms; to accept guarantees for the continuance of his sove-

reignty in those portions of his dominions which he still held at the cost of relinquishing his demands for the restoration of those he had lost, he replied by a consistent, unmodified, unflinching refusal! *Non possumus!* We cannot do what is demanded of us! Our oaths, our duty to the Church, our duty to the universal body of the faithful forbid it! *Non possumus!*

But on considerations of prudence! For the sake of the Church! For the interests of the Papacy! The protection that now upholds the temporal power of the Holy See within its present restricted limits, cannot in the nature of things be perpetual! And what will happen then? Would it not be better to make such concessions as may render it possible for us, your friends, to make arrangements to secure you against the certain overthrow which must overtake you, when that time comes, if no such arrangements be made?

To all such urgings and arguments Pius the Ninth replied, greatly to the astonishment and annoyance of the statesmen on both sides of the Alps who were endeavouring to arrange his affairs for him, in the spirit of a man who really does in earnest trust in God! There is nothing so *impracticable* as a man

who trusts in God! A man warned by God in a dream (to the best of his belief) that certain numbers would win a prize in the lottery, continued to play on them with a trust so perfect that he beggared himself and his family. Pius the Ninth, however, while clearly perceiving that such an one was not justified in such a trust, and that his own case was a very different one, was equally inaccessible to all warnings of worldly prudence. "I know what my duty is in the matter! I walk forwards directly in the path of it, looking neither to the right nor the left—nor indeed to the future, save in the sure and certain knowledge of what that future will at an earlier or later day be! The gates of hell shall not prevail against it"—the Church, including of course the Sacred College and the sovereignty of Bologna, etc., etc., etc.! He said so over and over again during the attempts at negotiation of which we have been speaking; and he said so again only the other day.

What was the use of protocolling and "having the honour to be," as Carlyle says, in dealing with such a man as this!

CHAPTER II.

CHEERFULNESS OF DISPOSITION OF PIUS THE NINTH.—HIS ECCLESIASTICAL ACTIVITY MORE IMPORTANT IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD THAN HIS EFFORTS AS A TEMPORAL PRINCE.—HAS BEEN A REALLY GREAT POPE.—THE ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF THE 8TH OF DECEMBER.—CHARACTER OF THIS DOCUMENT.—ITS STYLE.—NOTHING NEW IN THE DOCTRINES PROMULGATED.—POSITION OF THE CHURCH RELATIVELY TO THE WORLD.—EFFECT ON THIS OF THE SYLLABUS.—SPECIMEN PASSAGES FROM THE ENCYCLIC.—FORM OF THE SYLLABUS.—HEADINGS OF THE DIVISIONS OF IT.—THE SYLLABUS CONTAINS NO NEW MATTER.—ALLOCUTIONS ON WHICH THE SYLLABUS IS BASED.—SPECIMEN PASSAGE OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF AN ALLOCUTION.—THE SYLLABUS PRODUCED GREATER EFFECT THAN THE ALLOCUTIONS, AND WHY.—THE GIST OF THE SYLLABUS.—QUESTION WHETHER THE CHURCH INJURED HER OWN INTERESTS BY THE PUBLICATION OF THE ENCYCLIC AND THE SYLLABUS.

INASMUCH as the support and comfort which a trust in God is so uniquely calculated to bestow depend in nowise on the reasonableness but wholly on the genuineness and sincerity of the trust, Pius the Ninth has throughout the misfortunes which have in

so extraordinary a degree marked his pontificate, been eminently blessed by a calm and tranquil mind and heart and a cheerful spirit. The heathen raged together, and the people imagined a vain thing; but he doubted not that he, or his successors, would in the name of the Lord destroy them and their work! But this tranquil confidence has never in the Pontiff's case degenerated, as it is often wont to do, into inertness, acquiescence in evil, and—if the vulgarity of the metaphor may be pardoned on the score of its aptness—throwing up the sponge!

Activity is a part of the law of the present Pope's nature. His good qualities and his weaknesses contribute to make it so. He hates to be idle; and he hates to be out of sight. Sleeping behind the coulisses would not suit him at all! He wants to act his part; and he wants to be on the stage with all the glare of the foot-lights on him and in the full sight of the house. But his activity, as the occupations and duties of a temporal ruler were taken from him, necessarily and naturally centred itself more and more in the exercise of his spiritual functions. And accordingly the story of his life is from this time forward a more strictly and entirely ecclesiastic one.

It was but too clear to the mind of Pius the Ninth

that "the times were out of joint;" but there is no evidence in his conduct or in his recorded utterances of any such weakness as might have led him to deem it a "cursed spite that he was ever born to set them right." On the contrary, there is the most remarkable evidence that he deemed it to be his especial duty to do so, and in nowise doubted his capacity and capabilities for the task.

His efforts to accomplish the duty thus set before him have been most notable, and, as usual, unflinching and uncompromising. And the record of these efforts forms by very far the most important portion of the story of his life. The history of his efforts, first of all to be a beneficent temporal ruler, and, when that was found to be impossible, to preserve *quand même* the temporal authority, which he believed it to be his duty to maintain intact, are of comparatively temporary interest and importance. *Lis judicata est.* And though Rome naturally will not admit that it is so, and though the Pontiff may personally have in all its fulness the faith he professes to have in the reversal of the judgment that seems to have been pronounced, it may be supposed that the wisest of the rulers of the Catholic Church have little expectation of any such quashing of the sentence that has

been passed. And future Pontiffs may well, and probably will find reason to be of the opinion, that their successorship to the great Apostle does not necessarily require them to pretend to any material kingship, and that the interests of their Church may best be served by making their Bishoprick wholly and solely one of souls.

But it will be very difficult indeed for any future successor in the Chair of Peter to recede from any of the positions taken up by Pius the Ninth in the war which he has proclaimed between the Church and the world. He has in doing this placed himself on his true ground. We may meet him on it. We may take part with the world, and fight him and his inch by inch. But we cannot insist that he has no *locus standi*. We cannot put him out of court with a declaration that his claim is one which ought never to have been made. And in taking sides in this matter, there ought to be no shirking of the question, "Under which king, Bezonian?" We must, if we take our stand with the world against the Church, do so avowedly and knowingly.

Pius the Ninth has done a great thing! He has brought his generation unmistakably to the forking of the ways. He could not be let to be a great king.

So he determined to be a great Pope. And he has become a greater Pope than almost any one of his predecessors! It is not all mere flattery that has prompted the immense admiration and reverence that has incensed him to a degree one may probably say never seen before. Much has sprung no doubt from the circumstances of struggle and defeat in which he has been placed; but not all—not the greater part of the exceeding reverence in which he is held by the understanding members of his own communion.

It was on the 8th of December, 1864, that the world was startled by the first trumpet-note of the spiritual warfare that the Pope, beaten at all points in his character of temporal king, was minded to wage with mankind. It came in the form of an Encyclical letter addressed to "All our Venerable Brethren the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops in grace and communion with the Apostolic See." This is the celebrated Encyclic which was accompanied by the yet more celebrated "SYLLABUS COMPLECTENS PRÆCIPUOS NOSTRÆ ÆTATIS ERRORES, QUI NOTANTUR IN ALLOCUTIONIBUS CONSISTORIALIBUS, IN ENCYCLICIS ALIISQUE APOSTOLICIS LITTERIS SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII PAPÆ IX."

The Encyclical letter consists of about twelve such pages as those of this volume; while that meaning which it wishes to convey to its readers might be set forth in the half of one of them. The style of the Curia Romana is well known to all who have had occasion to consult the documents on which much of the history of the Church is based. It is always the same; and no one could read a dozen lines of one of those compositions without recognising it. The compiler, whose duty it is to express the ideas which the Holy See thinks fit to put forth to the world in the language deemed proper for that purpose, is evidently a person educated *ad hoc*. Probably it may be he who fills the position of "Secretary for the Latin Briefs." But in any case the composition of these documents is a specialty, and reveals the hand of an expert.

The first impression produced by the perusal of the famous Encyclic is surprise that it should have caused such a commotion in the world. It contains nothing that one did not very well know before to be the view and opinions held by the authors of it. Nay; it contains nothing that does not logically, legitimately, and necessarily follow from the fundamental positions which the Church holds. And to

be entirely honest, it must be owned that it would be a far more difficult task for the members of some other Christian communions to show why they object to any of the teaching of the Encyclic, than for those of the Roman Catholic Church to defend their adherence to it! If there be certain truths, the knowledge of which is absolutely necessary for the eternal welfare of mankind, and is possessed by a certain body of men with a degree of certainty which precludes all possibility of error, and by them alone, all the rest that the Church of Rome maintains, claims, teaches, and does, is duly maintained, fairly claimed, judiciously taught, and well done! If there be certain men on earth who have a knowledge of the will and purposes of the Creator, of a kind and degree unattainable save by the members of their caste, ought not those men to be the kings and rulers of the world? What trash are parliaments, and public opinion, and *vox populi* and all the rest of it, from St. Stephen's down to a select vestry, if we have got among us some individuals who can and will tell us truly what is God's will in the matter! Just such useless and pernicious trash as the Popes have always assured us that they are!

All the countless tons of superfluous logomachy

which have destroyed good paper and load the shelves of libraries, consist only of developments of their primal thesis, together with statements accumulated for the purpose of showing that men have at different times admitted the claims based on it, on the one side, and on the other side of efforts to dilute or veil with more or less of self-consciousness and clear-sightedness the only one possible answer to the pretensions of Rome; which is, "We do not believe one word of the statements you make as to your possession of the knowledge on which you base your claims!"

And the reason why the nations were made so angry by the new Encyclic, and why many churchmen deemed the issue of it to be unwise, was that it advances a strong step towards forcing these truths on the attention of the world. The new document is of the nature of the tearing down of a veil, hung up for decency, comfort, and the convenience of all parties! There is in general nothing that the world so much detests and resents as the tearing down of its veils. Not that the Encyclic does this thoroughly, entirely, or intentionally. But it is a step towards it. It is like the touch of earnest introduced by some rather too eager playmate into a child's game

of romps, and which leads some of the party, startled and discomposed, to declare that if that sort of thing is to be done they "won't play." Surely they all know that the Pope and his Church meant all the things he says that he means in this document, but they had not been used to his saying so in so crude a manner!

"It is impious and absurd to maintain that a civil government ought not to make it a part of its duty to compel its subjects by penalties to observe the true religion." Well! granted the fundamental position of the Church, it is so. Liberty of conscience, and of religion, and of manifesting opinion on these subjects by means of speaking, writing and printing, is denounced as most fatal to the Catholic Church and the salvation of souls. And men in preaching this doctrine "do not consider that they are preaching a liberty of perdition," as St. Augustin calls it. Of course they are, *if* what the Church says is true. The Encyclic, as is constantly the case in the utterances of the Church, seems to be begging the question. But of course the Church must always assume the real gist of the question to be begged and granted.

In some passages of the Encyclic—though nothing

is said, and no pretence put forward which is new in principle — doctrines are enunciated with an especial view to recent circumstances. For instance: "Because the true idea of justice and human law is obscured and lost, and material force takes the place of justice and of true right wheresoever religion is banished from civil society, it is clearly to be seen wherefore certain men, setting at nought the most certain principles of sound reason, dare to publish that the will of the people, manifested by that which they choose to call public opinion, or in any other manner, constitutes a law which is supreme and independent of all divine and human right, and that in the political world accomplished facts acquire the force of right merely because they are accomplished." Of course it is more than sufficiently clear what special wickedness it was which was vexing the heart of the Pontiff when this sentence was penned. But the process of reasoning which hooks the conclusion and the premises together is somewhat difficult to be seized save by the light of a highly-condensed enthymematic method. The same remark may be made on the following passage: "Who does not see," says the Pontiff, "who does not perfectly well feel that a community withdrawn

from the laws of religion and of true justice can have no other object than to amass and accumulate riches, or any other law in all its acts, than an indomitable desire to satisfy its passions, and to procure for itself enjoyments? That is the reason why men of this sort pursue with a bitter hatred the religious orders, taking no account of the immense services rendered by them to religion, to society, and to literature. That is why they rage against them, saying that there is no legitimate reason for their existence, thus echoing the calumnies of the heretics."

There would be little interest in any further examination of this celebrated document. There is, as has been said, absolutely nothing new in it; and the declaration of the irreligious tendencies of the age is set forth not only without the smallest attempt at anything in the nature of eloquence, but with a superfluity of verbiage that absolutely buries the meaning under it. I will, however, transcribe a few lines—in pity for the reader they shall be but few!—absolutely taken at hazard from this document, as a specimen of the peculiar style of the Curia Romana, and of the curious method of the wrappages in which Rome envelopes her communications with the outer world.

"Et quoniam ubi a civili societate fuit amota religio, ac repudiata divinæ revelationis doctrina et auctoritas, vel ipsa germana justitiæ humanique juris notio tenebris obscuratur et amittitur, atque in veræ justitiæ legitimique juris locum, materialis substituitur vis, inde liquet cur nonnulli, certissimis sanæ rationis principiis penitus neglectis posthabitisque, audeant conclamare, voluntatem populi, publica, quam dicunt, opinione vel alia ratione manifestatam, constituere supremam legem ab omni divino humanoque juri solutam, et in ordine politico facto consummata, eo ipso quod consummata sunt, vim juris habere."

There! I did not purpose giving the reader so much of it, but could not sooner reach a full stop. The sample is a perfectly trustworthy one; and the entire mass is perfectly homogeneous.

The ratification with which the document concludes is worthy of note. It runs thus:—

"Given in Rome at St. Peter's on the 8th day of December, in the year 1864, the tenth from the Dogmatic Definition of the Immaculate Conception of the God-bearing Virgin Mary, the nineteenth year of our Pontificate. Pius Ninth, Pope."

The more important document, however, is the "Syllabus, embracing the principal errors of our time," which accompanied the Encyclic. This Syllabus consists of a collection of eighty propositions, which are formally condemned and anathematised. They are formulated in such sort that it is to be understood that the contradictory proposition is affirmed. Thus the second proposition (it is much shorter than the first) runs thus: "Neganda est omnis Dei actio in homines et mundum." "All action of God on mankind and on the world is to be denied." The meaning being that the Church condemns the assertion or opinion that God does not exercise any action on man or on the world. But this backward mode of stating her meaning leads the Church into logical difficulties; the contradictory to the proposition in question being, "Neganda non est omnis," etc., or, *every* action of God is to be affirmed, which is assuredly not what the Church means to assert. But the real intention of the author of the Syllabus will be most clearly arrived at by supposing the words, "It is not true that," to be prefixed to each proposition gibbeted.

The eighty condemned positions are ranged under ten headings or categories. The 1st of these is

"*Pantheismus, Naturalismus, et Rationalismus absolutus.*" Pantheism, Naturalism, and absolute Rationalism, containing seven propositions. 2. "Moderate Rationalism," with seven propositions. 3. "Indifferentism and Latitudinarianism," with four propositions. 4. "Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Bible Societies, Liberal Clerical Societies," the whole of which are condemned in one conpendious proposition, which runs thus, and must be taken as an exception to that rule for the interpretation of the Syllabus which has been laid down above: "Pests of this sort have been frequently reprobated and with very grave forms of words in"—such and such utterances of the Pope duly referred to. 5. "Errors concerning the Church and its Rights," containing twenty propositions, the first affirming the independence of the Church on the State. 6. "Errors relative to Civil Society and to the relation of Civil Society with the Church," with fifteen propositions. 7. "Errors concerning Natural and Christian Ethics," with nine propositions. 8. "Errors concerning Christian Marriage," with ten propositions. 9. "Errors concerning the Temporal Dominion of the Roman Pontiff," with two propositions; and lastly, 10. "Errors

referring to modern Liberalism," with four propositions.

Now this Syllabus, containing these eighty anathematised propositions, is entitled "A Syllabus comprising the principal errors of our time, which are noted in the Consistorial Allocutions, Encyclical and other Apostolic letters of our most Holy Lord Pope Pius the Ninth." And the Syllabus has been printed in a volume, together with all the allocutions and letters in which Pius the Ninth had already anathematised, and as he with somewhat less accuracy says, confuted the errors in question. So that, in truth, he not only says nothing more in his Syllabus than the Church was well known to hold, but nothing more than he himself had previously at different periods authoritatively declared. And it seems at first sight strange that, such being the case, the publication of the Syllabus should have profoundly disturbed the complacency of Europe! But an examination of the volume mentioned will diminish this surprise. References are provided to enable the reader to refer to the passage or passages in which each special proposition is to be found condemned. And in each case something will be found in the interminable and incredibly

wordy productions referred to bearing on the subject; something doubtless in which the same judgment as that formulated in the Syllabus is to be found. But in the first place, no lay human being had ever read the allocution and letters in question. And in the second place, it is the concentration of the sacerdotalism in the Syllabus which produced the stunning effect of it. An amount of carbonic acid gas may be mixed with the atmosphere with no greater result than the production of a slight evil smell, which if gathered within narrow limits will knock a man down! And it was precisely in this way and for this reason that the world was knocked down by the papal Syllabus.

In order that the reader may see the sort of relationship which the Syllabus bears to the papal utterances on which it is based, and at the same time have a specimen of the sort of ratiocination and nexus of ideas that are to be found in these papal letters and allocutions, I will give the passage referred to in support of the condemnation of the error, which consists in affirming that the celibacy of the clergy ought to be abolished. It occurs in an Encyclic letter to the Episcopacy of the Church,

issued on the 9th of November, 1846—a few months, that is to say, after his election.

The Holy Father has been pointing out that the object of the Secret Societies was the destruction of all religion; and having then remarked that "the horrible system" of believing that men may be saved in any religion tends to the same end, he thus proceeds: "To the same end tends that most foul conspiracy against the sacred celibacy of the clergy, which is cherished—oh grief!—by some ecclesiastics even, who, miserably forgetful of their own dignity, suffer themselves to be conquered and lulled by the snares and blandishments of pleasure. To the same end tends that perverse method of teaching, especially in philosophic studies, which deceives improvident youth in a miserable manner, corrupts them, and gives them to drink the gall of the dragon in the cup of Babylon—'*ei fel draconis in calice Babylonis propinat.*' To this same end tends that infamous doctrine of Communism, as they call it, which is absolutely opposed even to natural justice, and which once admitted, the rights, goods, and property of everybody, and human society itself, is wholly overturned." Etc., etc., etc.

But no further word is heard of the celibacy of the clergy. The abominable doctrine that clerical celibacy should be abolished is said to be *confuted.* One turns to the passage in the expectation of finding at least a statement of the views of the Church upon the subject, if not some attempt at meeting the objections which have been urged on so many grounds against it. But one finds no word of anything of all this; literally nothing, save that passing allusion, before the Holy Father rambles on to other subjects, which are connected by the thread of his discourse only as beads are by the string that holds them together.

Take the next sentence in the original Latin as a specimen of these pontifical utterances, which have availed to move the world and constitute their author a great Pope. The fact that the lines to be transcribed are a true and honest specimen of the style of these letters and allocutions, and the extremely curious nature of the style and manner of the composition, must be the excuse for placing before the reader a page full of such unutterably tedious verbiage.

"Huc denique" (to the destruction of religion) ut cætera, quæ Vobis apprime nota ac perspecta

sunt, omittamus, teterrima tot undique volantium, et peccare docentium voluminum ac libellorum contagio, qui arte compositi, ac fallaciæ et artificii pleni, immanibusque sumptibus per omnia loca in christianæ plebis interitum dissipati, pestiferas doctrinas ubique disseminant, incautorum potissimum mentes animosque depravant, et maxima religioni inferunt detrimenta. Ex hac undique serpentium errorum colluvie, atque effrenata cogitandi, loquendi, scribendique licentia mores in deterius prolapsi, sanctissima Christi spreta religio, divini cultus improbata majestas, hujus Apostolicæ Sedis divexata potestas, Ecclesiæ oppugnata atque in turpem servitutem redacta auctoritas, Episcoporum jura conculcata, matrimonii sanctitas violata, cujusque potestatis regimen labefactum, ac tot alia tum christianæ, tum civilis reipublicæ damna, quæ communibus lachrymis una vobiscum plere cogimur, Venerabiles Fratres!"

Exhibitions of this compound administered to the world in doses of from ten to twenty pages at a time had not much stirred it. And it was only the concentration of the doctrinal theories to be gathered from a very large quantity of it that did succeed in startling the outside world. The

allocutions of the 27th of September, 1852, and the 15th December, 1856, attracted no particular attention. But the proposition affirmed, it should seem, in both of them, to the effect that "it is not true that the *forum ecclesiasticum* for the decision of the temporal causes of the clergy, whether civil or criminal, ought to be abolished, even without consulting the Holy See, and against its desire," is certainly calculated to give pause to a modern legislator. It is not a little alarming too, though no doubt one has heard it before, and, as we here learn, the present Pope himself had affirmed it on the 30th September, 1861, to hear it laid down as an active principle to be observed in the world of the nineteenth century, that the ecclesiastical power ought to exercise its authority without the permission and assentment of the civil government." We find also that it is a damnable error to maintain that "the Church has not the right to employ force, and that she has no temporal power direct or indirect, or that the Sovereign Pontiff and the Œcumenical Councils have overpassed the limits of this power, have usurped the rights of princes, and have even erred in their definitions of faith and morals."

In a word, that which I said above of the Encyclic may be said yet more emphatically of the Syllabus. It is a declaration that the world has been mistaken in its idea that the Church was disposed to allow some of the more preposterous of its claims on mankind tacitly to sink into oblivion; that, on the contrary, Rome intends to insist on them with more earnestness than ever. *Multa renascuntur quæ jam cecidere!* And, as it has been elsewhere expressed, all the old rusted weapons in the Pope's arsenal are furbished up and called into modern use. Of course the champions of the Court of Rome will not admit that these weapons have ever fallen into desuetude. No authority will ever admit that of powers which it has always itself been conscious of possessing. But, on the other hand, it is not true that any claims or theories altogether new have been put forward (at least so far as the Syllabus is concerned), or now for the first time declared to be *de fide*. It is merely a declaration that the Church wholly declines to take any account of all that progress and all those circumstances which have contributed during the last eighty years to change the relationship between the world and the Church; that for its own part it stands, and purposes to stand,

just where it did three, six, or nine hundred years ago; that such being the case, it summons the world to shape and fashion itself into such a form and semblance as shall fit it to live in due harmony and correspondence with such a Church, or failing to do so, to take the consequences, comprising absolute political deadlock, incapability and ruin in this world, as well as the prescribed penalties in the next. It is the uncompromising and thoroughly frank nature of this demand that has startled the world, and caused statesmen to doubt whether Pope Pius in his earnestness and craving activity have not done more to injure the Church than any one of his predecessors for many generations past.

I am, for my own part, much disposed to doubt the correctness of such an opinion. Churchmen of the old school cannot persuade themselves that those, who assure the Church that she is and will be the stronger for the loss of her temporal power, are speaking honestly and sincerely. They consider all such assurances as the scarcely veiled mockeries of triumphant enemies. But they do not sufficiently consider that the same causes which gradually, but very rapidly in the course of this nineteenth century,

made it clear that it would not long be possible for the Popes to continue to be temporal sovereigns, rendered this power, while it lasted, a source of weakness to them. Nor, as regards the Encyclic and the Syllabus, do they, who deem the publication of those trumpet-tongued defiances to the world to have been a suicidal step, sufficiently bear in mind that although that step was taken before the last remnant of the temporal power had been finally stripped from the Pontiff, it was taken at a time when it was already abundantly clear that the temporal crown was doomed, and that the Church was at bay among its enemies. And when it is considered what the course of events must necessarily have been if the Apostolic See had at that time adopted a conciliatory, a moderate, or even a temporising line of conduct, it will be seen that upon the whole, pulling off the mask (for during all the easy-going time the Church had worn a mask), hoisting the true colours, recognising as enemies all who were not true friends was the best policy that Rome could have adopted.

But a still stronger, a more remarkable and a more memorable step in the same direction was coming; and the attempt to estimate the strength

and the weakness of the position which the Church made for itself by these acts, to which the consideration of the Encylic and the Syllabus invites us, may be advantageously deferred till we come to speak of the Œcumenical Council.

CHAPTER III.

EXPECTATIONS OF THE POPE AFTER CASTEL FIDARDO.—PIUS NOT CONTENTED WITH THE SOVEREIGNITY LEFT TO HIM.—EFFECTS OF THE ENCYCLIC AND SYLLABUS.—DETERMINATION TO SUMMON A COUNCIL.—ADVICE OF THE SACRED COLLEGE.—DETERMINATION OF PIUS TO ACT IN OPPOSITION TO IT.—WHO WERE HIS SUPPORTERS AND ADVISERS.—THE JESUITS.—SOCIETY FOR UPHOLDING THE INFALLIBILITY DOCTRINE.—PROFOUND KNOWLEDGE OF THE CHURCH MANIFESTED BY THE JESUITS.—CHARACTER OF PIUS FAVOURABLE TO THE PLANS OF THE COMPANY.—WHETHER THE JESUITS JUDGED RIGHTLY FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE CHURCH.

ALTHOUGH a larger view of the general tendencies of Europe than an inhabitant of the Vatican could reasonably be expected to attain to, might have availed to assure the Pontiff that the days of his temporal power were numbered, it is probable that he may have continued during the ten years that elapsed between the defeat of Castel Fidardo on the 18th of September, 1860, and the entry of the

Italian troops into Rome on the 20th of September, 1870, to believe that he would be allowed to remain Sovereign over the small dominion left to him. As regards the confidence in the purposes of Providence which Pius expressed so remarkably in his letter to the almoner of his troops on the eve of the Castel Fidardo campaign—saying, "We have a firm faith that the Church will always triumph, and that God will either bring back its enemies into the path of salvation, *or* will crush and exterminate them!"—he might and doubtless did and does preserve his confidence in the ultimate designs of Providence in this respect; but the issue of the campaign on which he entered with the expression of those hopes must have sufficed to teach him that Providence could not be counted upon for any intention to preserve him, Pius the Ninth, personally in the enjoyment of his kingship.

But if the prophetical promises of Holy Scripture were found to be, however certain, too vague to convey any reliable assurance with regard to the more immediate and terrestrial destinies of the Papacy, there were the promises of Napoleon the Third, which seemed more definite. Of these promises, however, seasoned by the exhortations which

accompanied them, the Holy Father had had many. And even so late as the close of 1866, the Emperor, on sending General Fleury to Rome on a confidential mission, declared categorically: "The Emperor in consideration for what is right as well as on account of political interests, can never abandon the Holy Father; and will use all his efforts to prevent him from leaving Rome." And further on in the same document: "If nevertheless, when the French troops shall have departed, the Pope should be obliged to withdraw from Rome in consequence of a popular tumult, the Emperor would not hesitate to bring him back by means of his troops." It is true that the Emperor had not interfered by force to prevent the Holy Father from being stripped of the Legations and, a second time, of Umbria and the Marches in 1860. Nevertheless there is little reason to doubt that, had the Emperor himself not fallen, he would have supported his *protégé* the Pope by force of arms against all the power the Italians could have brought against him. For his "political interest," as he and France understood it, required that the Pope should be kept at Rome for the purpose of preventing the consolidation of Italian unity. And it needed no less a revolution in the European

world than the absolute destruction of the power of France to render that consummation possible.

But the preservation of the little shred of sovereignty that was left to him, even if its permanency had been ever so thoroughly assured, by no means contented the Holy Father or those around him. The position which the sovereignty of such a State made for him in Europe was far from being such as to satisfy one ambitious of a much more brilliant and important *rôle*. Nor was the Pontiff or the Church in the slightest degree disposed to abandon the hope of a reversal of all that had been done in Europe since 1848, or perhaps even since 1789. And the best means of remedying both these sources of discontent was to be found in pursuing the path which the publication of the Encyclic and the Syllabus had opened.

For the emotion which had been occasioned by the publication of those memorable documents did not prove to be as transitory as might perhaps at first sight have been expected. On the contrary, it seemed as if it required some little time for lay Europe to appreciate at their true value the declarations of doctrine and the claims put forward by those manifestoes. It was not immediately that the world

realised the fact that Rome really intended in a practical spirit and in earnest to advance claims, the result of admitting which would be that, whether the Roman Pontiff possessed any temporal sovereignty or not, he would exercise such a sovereignty over the entirety of mankind that no other Sovereign or Government could call or deem itself independent of him! Gradually this seems to have become manifest to the lay mind of Europe. And the result was a chorus of exclamations that the Pope had now done for himself!—that it was suicidal!—that "quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat!"—that this wonderful Pope, who had already set at nought all the traditions of the Papacy by holding it for a longer time than the twenty-five years of St. Peter, would be the last of his line, because of the inconceivable audacity with which he had thrown down the glove in token of war to the knife with a power—that of the modern spirit and civilisation of mankind — against which he must needs dash himself to pieces!

Despite this chorus, however, which was by no means confined to the non-Catholic portion of Europe, or to the enemies of the Church, the Holy Father determined, under the very remarkable cir-

cumstances to be more particularly adverted to presently, to take another and a yet more startling and remarkable step in the same direction. In the summer of the year 1867, there were an unusual number of Bishops assembled in Rome for the celebration of the centenary of the martyrdom of St. Peter; and the Pontiff availed himself of the occasion to announce in public consistory his intention of summoning an Œcumenical Council, with the object of "providing a remedy required by the evils with which the Church is affected." On the following 1st of July, in another allocution he a second time announced his intention. Before definitively taking the step he had thus announced, however, he consulted the Sacred College on the two-fold question. "An sit necessarium?" "An oporteat?"—"Is it—the Council—necessary?" "Is it fitting?" To both questions the Cardinals gave a negative reply. The Sacred College was of opinion that it was neither necessary nor desirable to call an Œcumenical Council at that time. Whereupon the Holy Father proceeded to realise his purpose just as if the Sacred College had replied in a sense exactly the reverse of that in which they had replied!

That is a very remarkable circumstance! The

line of conduct thus adopted by Pius the Ninth was one of extreme audacity and hardihood. It would seem to indicate a strength of character, a power of standing alone, which very few men possess! Let it be remembered what the calling of an Œcumenical Council is and involves, and what the relationship between the Pope and the body of Cardinals! The Sacred College is the appointed Council of the Pontiff. That office is the sole *raison d'être* of such a hieratic order. Without them, according to all ecclesiastical theory, the Pope would stand absolutely alone and isolated. And as regards the welfare of the Church, the calling of an Œcumenical Council is by very far the most important act that a Pontiff can do! It is an act from which most Popes have shrunk—from very unworthy motives it may be said. And it may be argued that the Pope who desires and spontaneously calls together a Council of the Church, must at least feel the assurance that he can meet the Universal Church with a clear conscience and a heart fearless in its undoubting rectitude. And the argument is a cogent one. Nevertheless it is not always or only the upright who rush in where wise men have feared to tread! And those who have feared the assembling of that awful body,

the world-wide Council of the Universal Church, have been, if not among the best of men, assuredly among the wisest of all who were not among the best. But Pius the Ninth not only did not fear the assembling of a Council, but ardently desired it; and not only desired it, but determined to have it despite the advice and adverse opinion of the only body of men appointed by the Church to assist him with their counsel. Think—looking at the matter from a papal point of view—of the consequences that may flow from the causes which are set in motion by the meeting of an Œcumenical Council! Think of the responsibility of him who not only decides upon taking such a step, but decides upon it on his own sole will and judgment, in direct opposition to the opinion and advice of his appointed counsellors!

Now, was Pius the Ninth the man to play such a part? Was he a man of exceptional hardihood and strength of character? Was he one gifted with that rare degree of self-reliance and superiority to the judgments and opinions of other men, which alone could prompt such a line of conduct? Surely he was one of the last men from whom that might be expected! Surely, if ever there was a man who lived on and for the favouring breath of others, Pius

is he! Never was there a man who showed less of self-reliant, self-contained strength! Of tenacity, called by his friends conscientious firmness, and by his enemies, less fairly, mule-like obstinacy, he has shown abundance, supported as he has been by the enthusiastic and admiring adherence of his own world. But this last clause may fairly be considered a *sine quâ non* in considering the Pope's actions and general line of conduct. He is a man of all others who needs the support of approbation from those around him.

And yet he is the man who takes one of the biggest and most pregnant resolutions which a mortal man can take, not only without the approbation, but in defiance of the advice and wishes of those who are his official counsellors, and moreover are the world, to whose opinion he is—or ought to be—most amenable!

Surely the explanation of the phenomenon is that he did *not* stand alone, when he came to the decision of summoning the Council in despite of the opposition of the Sacred College. Though he thus slighted the opinions of those to whose opinions he ought to have been most amenable, there must have been others to whose advice and opinion he was in fact more

amenable. It cannot be that Pius the Ninth stood all alone, self-contained and self-reliant, facing a world in opposition to him, when he took this great step. He must have had support, and of a valid kind. Who were his supporters? Probably there is not a member of his own Church who would be at a moment's loss for the reply. They were the Jesuits. He acted under the influence of the Fathers of "the Company," in opposition to the counsel of his more constitutional advisers! That the celebrated "Company" should thus take a line of its own, and one opposed to the policy of the secular Church, is quite in accordance with all the traditions of its history, and on this occasion at least was one perfectly intelligible to the meanest capacity. A curious little phenomenon, which was scarcely visible to the naked eye outside the pale of the Church, manifested itself in that same year, 1867, and was recognised by all those acquainted with such matters as indicating beyond danger of mistake the workmanship of a Jesuit craftsman.

A new "religion" was invented. The word is still used by the peoples of Latin stock in the old sense. When they speak of a new "religion" they mean a new *observance,* or method of doing something for

the promotion of zeal in themselves and others on behalf of the old religion. Many new religions have been invented of late years, and have been found exceedingly successful in promoting the objects for which they were initiated. And in each case the Jesuit body has been the inventor who earned the gratitude of the Church. Now, the new religion which suddenly appeared in the devout world in 1867, consisted in "offering to God a formal vow to profess and defend the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, *usque ad effusionem sanguinis*,"—even unto the shedding of your blood for it! All the well-known means for pushing, propagating, and popularising this invention to such an extent as should cause it to be powerfully operative on public opinion were put in action. Societies, affiliated one to the other, were formed. The members undertook to circulate books advocating the doctrine, which was the special object of the society, and to do their utmost to suppress such as should have a contrary tendency. France especially was inundated with little ornamental cards, on which the rules of the society were printed, and the possession of which indicated membership. The Holy Father addressed briefs of felicitation to prominent persons, who took

a leading part in the society. And it is very remarkable that, despite the general condemnation of secret societies by the Church, this papal infallibility society was a secret society. Probably the secrecy attached to membership was not very profound, and was due mainly to the thoroughly Jesuitical idiosyncrasy which estimates—perhaps not too highly—the value of professed secrecy as a means of acting on the popular imagination. It may be, however, that it was not considered desirable to attract the attention of outsiders prematurely to the preparations for the grand transformation scene that was being got up for the astonishment of the world.

As for the rulers of the Church, to whichever party in it they belonged, whether to that which has come to be, with very sufficient accuracy, known as Ultramontane—the word being supposed to be used by one on the northern side of the Alps—or to their opponents, whether known as "Old Catholics," *i.e.* nonconformists to the novelties engendered by the Council, or as liberal Catholics, they all no doubt were well aware of the main and real object for which the Council was desired. And the amount of opposition which was manifested to the project in the Church, especially out of Italy

(though there also, as has been seen, the highest and most important body in the Church had pronounced against it), was such that the unflinching carrying out of the purpose in spite of it, shows in a very striking manner the exceedingly perfect knowledge which its authors the Jesuits must have possessed, if not in a larger sense of the world, of mankind, and of human nature, yet unmistakably of the Church, of churchmen, and of sacerdotal nature.

What was wanted was by a successful vote of the Universal Church to cause a doctrine, involving a more grovelling, more degrading, and more dangerous superstition than any which "the ages of faith" had invented or tolerated, to be adopted as a constituent part of the Catholic faith, now in the midst of the nineteenth century, in the midst of the breakdown of faith under the burthen of doctrinal requirements already too heavy for the world's capacity of believing, and by a Church all the salt of which, all that was best in which, was known to be utterly opposed to the doctrine in question! Who would not have said that the attempt was an entirely—a monstrously impossible one! The Jesuits judged otherwise. They were

fully and accurately aware of the amount of opposition, of the number of recalcitrants, of the effect which the promulgation of the new doctrine would have on the minds of mankind. But they thought the thing might be done notwithstanding. They were of opinion that it could be carried; and they were right! No doubt they trusted much to the overpowering dread of causing a schism which might be little less than a death-blow to the Church; and yet more to the wonderful perfection of discipline which the organisation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy has produced. But the best card in their hand, the circumstance which above all others rendered the present a fitting moment for the attempt, was the character of the reigning Pontiff.

A man whose powers of believing were unlimited by any exercise of the intellectual faculty, as shown in the "definition" of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception; a man whose imaginative power was sufficient to render the attribute to be claimed for him seductive to his fancy, but not sufficient to represent to him the monstrosity and absurdity of it; a man balked in his first attempts at attitudinising on the world's scene in the part of hero

of the piece to be played in his day, and tormented by the desire to distinguish himself in that ecclesiastic world which alone remained to him, eager for some *rôle* which should bring him with sufficient prominence before the eyes of his generation, thirsting for the forehead-to-earth reverence of his contemporaries, capable of believing that Godlike qualities had been bestowed on him, and not feeling that there was any antecedent improbability that they should be so; this surely was of all others the man for the purposes of the Fathers of the Company!

In contradiction to all that might have been previously supposed, the Jesuits were right in their estimate of the possibility of causing the Church to accept the measure. May it not be that they are equally right in believing, in opposition to the opinion held by the far largest portion of the educated part of mankind, that the measure in question will be found to act favourably rather than the reverse for the interests of their Church? It will alienate some persons from their communion. But is there not reason to think that such persons would not have long remained to them, or at all events would not have been of much use to them

under any circumstances? When some general, of whom history tells, halted his army before advancing to some arduous enterprise, and after explaining to his men all the difficulty and the danger of the task before them, announced that all those who felt no inclination to go forward, were at full liberty to go back, his force was none the weaker for the weeding that was the result. And when a hard fight has to be fought, such as the Church well knows she has to fight in the days which lie before her, it is a very desirable thing that your forces should be compact, that you should know without any doubt who your own men are, and that they can be trusted to be thorough with the work in hand, and that an impassable and unmistakable line of demarcation should exist between them and the enemy.

The course of the next generation will show more clearly; but the experience of this generation would seem to give reason to believe that, despite the stand made by "Old Catholics," the Church has been strengthened rather than the reverse by the monstrosity which the Council voted.

CHAPTER IV.

DEFINITIVE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE COUNCIL.—THE TERM "ŒCUMENICAL."—HOW FAR THE USE OF IT IS JUSTIFIED.—MOTIVES WHICH PROMPTED THE CALLING OF THE COUNCIL.—REASONS AGAINST IT.—CITATION FROM POMPONIO LETO.—SUMMARY OF THE NATURE OF THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH WHEN THE COUNCIL WAS DECIDED ON.—INCAPACITY OF THE SACRED COLLEGE FOR DEALING WITH IT.—THE JESUITS.—THEIR PURPOSES IN THE CALLING OF THE COUNCIL.—DIFFICULTIES THEY HAD TO CONTEND WITH.—PROTESTANT OPINION RESPECTING THE JESUITS.—SUCCESS AS REGARDS THE COUNCIL.—EVENTUAL SUCCESS YET TO BE SEEN.—PERSONAL CHARACTER OF THE PONTIFF EMINENTLY ADAPTED TO THEIR VIEWS.

In the two allocutions of the 26th of June and the 1st of July, 1867, Pius the Ninth had, as has been seen, announced his intention of calling an Œcumenical Council; but he did not formally do so till the 22nd of June in the following year. In an allocution of that date, and more formally by a Bull dated on the 29th of that month, the assembling of the Council was definitively fixed for

the 8th of December, 1869. Thus eighteen months were allowed for the necessary preparations for the great event. They were not more than may be deemed sufficient for the purpose even in these days, when the meaning of the term Œcumenical, and of the pretensions implied by the use of it are considered. The word is a great one, signifying the inhabited portion of the earth's surface; and the use of it is intended to imply that the habitat of the Catholic Church is *de jure* if not *de facto* coextensive with that. And of course the original theory of the supreme and inappealable authority of a Council of the Church depended on this quality of its universality. Of course, also there never was a time when fact and theory did not very widely diverge as regards this matter. The eighth century was probably the time when the fact and the theory most nearly coincided, but even then they were far from wholly coinciding, and ever since they have been diverging more and more from age to age.

The meeting beneath the dome of St. Peter's of the Patriarch of Babylon with the Bishop of Chicago —the world of the past with the world of the future —was a sight not a little wonderful, as a French

writer has observed. But, as the *soi-disant* "Pomponio Leto,"* remarking on the passage, says: "If one comes down to the naked fact, and if one turns from the exterior form to consider the substance of the matter, the Bishop of Chicago does not represent a Catholic Chicago any more than the Patriarch of Babylon represents a Catholic Babylonia. And it would not so much signify that these two extremities do not represent two Catholic communities; but how many other bishops are there in the same condition? To say nothing of all the bishops *in partibus infidelium*, what do the American bishops represent in reference to the titles of their dioceses? What does the Archbishop of New York represent in face of the Catholic, that is to say the Universal Church? But passing over also the non-Catholic nations, how many of the French bishops are there who feel themselves to be really the pastors of the whole, or of the greater part of their flocks? or who are the real representatives of a truly Catholic society, or at least of a true Catholic majority?" In short, it is evident that the title "Œcumenical" represents a pretension only, and nothing else. The Council was a general council of

* "Otto Mesi à Roma durante il Concilio Vaticano. Impressioni di un Contemporaneo, per Pomponio Leto."

that portion of Christendom which still considers itself in communion with Rome. Nevertheless, when thus stripped of pretences, which are merely such, and reduced to the dimensions of genuine fact which really belong to it, it cannot but be felt that a council of the Catholic Church is a great thing!

Granting that the supposition put forward in the last chapter is correct, and admitting it to be true that the Pope in this the greatest act of his pontificate was but a tool in the hands of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, the question arises, What was the motive which prevailed with that very astute and well-informed body of men to take a step which, probably, no one of their body or any other churchman could have regarded as otherwise than a risky one? Never, from the first foundation of the Church, had it occurred that so long a period had been allowed to elapse without the calling of a Council, as had passed since the last Council separated at Trent in 1563. The quiet times which succeeded the storms that attended the crisis of the Reformation, the indifferentism in religious matters which was the character of recent generations, and the ill success of the Council of Trent, which failed ignominiously to heal the schisms which it was called to put an end to,

while it had the result of enfeebling the authority of the episcopate, and intensifying the autocratic tendencies of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, furnish reasons more than sufficient to account for the fact that no Council was called for more than three hundred years after the ending of that of Trent.

It must be admitted, however, that the position of the Church in relation to the populations which still professedly formed its flock, was such at the time the Council was decided on, as required the adoption of some heroic measure of remedy. Yet thrice has a Council failed to heal a schism arising from a divergence of opinion, backed by a divergence of material interests and circumstances. The fourth Council of Constantinople, and the Council of Florence, failed wholly to do anything towards healing the schism of the East and West. The Council of Trent failed equally, as has been said, to heal the schism of the Reformation. And now, as the author already quoted remarks, "The third phase, which has for nearly a century past been threatening Catholicism, is that which for want of a name is called generically *the revolution*. . . . When the Italian events of 1859-60 menaced so nearly the very existence of the Court of Rome, the Pontifical Govern-

ment, finding the ground failing beneath its feet in Italy, and unable to discover there any means of existence, had recourse, as it had always done in similar conjunctures, to the Catholic Powers. But inasmuch as the political condition of Europe was such that no reliance could be placed on the Governments for assistance, the Church, with a tendency to accommodate herself to the times entirely characteristic of her, addressed herself to public opinion instead of to the Governments, availed herself of newspapers, of public meetings, and of all the other means of influencing it. Instead of a governmental policy, she made for herself a party policy. Thus the so-called Catholic party was generated, or rather rose again, grew, and at last showed itself well defined and organised with a clear and distinct programme, with a zealous determination, and a very good organisation. The party formed itself, disciplined itself, and kept itself in continual communication with Rome by means of the vast assemblages of people drawn together thither by the definition of the Immaculate Conception, by the canonisation of saints, and by the centenary of St. Peter. The institution of the Peter's penny for meeting the expenses of the Papacy, also contributed to the strong organisation of the party;

as also did the enrolment of Pontifical Zouaves for very brief periods of service, so as almost to renew the whole body of them every year; also the foundation of several journals, various publications, civil and religious festivals, and other such means of action. In a word, the traditional policy of the Court of Rome, keeping itself always the same, changed its ground, and made use of a cosmopolitan Catholic party instead of the Holy Alliance, thus gathering to itself interests and passions of very heterogeneous kinds, and combating the adverse tendencies of the times not without success. To this end the Company of Jesus served as an admirable instrument, capable as it was by means of its possession of a discipline unique in the world, by its authority, and by its diffusion over all the earth, of organising and performing this work with a unity of action and of thought that could hardly have been secured by any other means."

Considering that the writer who calls himself "Pomponio Leto" is one who knows the Church *intus et in cute*, and that not by any means as an enemy, but as a friend, the above is a very remarkable passage. It gives us the *raison d'être* of the Council with a truthfulness that few indeed of those

who knew would have been willing to imitate, and an accuracy which the many who have wished to give the world information on the subject were not in a position to rival.

In a few words the position was this. The Church had lost, to all appearances finally, its old and accustomed support from "the Powers of Europe," the Crowned Heads, the Governments, and their policemen and armies. She had lost, in a great measure, and was rapidly losing yet further, the allegiance and support of the masses of the people. It was necessary and high time that "something should be done." And the something must be such as should provide a new source of support to stand in the place of that which the civil governing Powers of the world no longer gave, and at the same time should reanimate the sentiments in the people which make the strength of the sacerdotal caste. The appointed, recognised rulers of the Church were altogether incapable and unfitted for undertaking any such task—very naturally. The Sacred College had not been filled with men chosen with any view to such work! They were, almost all of them, only fit to go on as they had always gone; to stick to the ship going to wreck as long as they could; to watch the progress

of the ruin spreading around them with sad eyes and folded hands, and hope that things might hold together at least their time! There were men among them well fitted for doing diplomatic work in the cabinets of ministers, for dealing with schemes by which this, that, or the other European Power might be played off against each other, and induced to adopt measures judged useful for the interests of the Church. But to handle the levers, and pull the wires of that entirely different sort of machine, which was to work by the creation of "a Catholic party" among the masses of the people, was wholly out of their sphere and out of their power. So much so that when the "something that might be done" was suggested to them they shook their heads, and said that *that* would never do. It was too big a thing, too startling, too bold, too full of risks and dangers!

But there were men—there was an organised body of men—who were equal to the crisis which the Princes of the Church were incapable of dealing with. Those who had suggested the bold stroke, the mere contemplation of which frightened the recognised counsellors of the Apostolic See, were capable of carrying it into effect without them and despite of them and their fears! Might it not be thought—of

course has been thought and said with veritable conviction by the devout—that Loyola had been providentially directed to the creation of his militia *ad hoc*.' Now was the moment when they and they only could save the Church! And by a further manifestation of Providential care, they had ready to their hand the one thing needed, outside their own organisation, an occupant of the Seat of St. Peter, who was exactly the very man for their purposes!

And these purposes were not single, but manifold. Their scheme of a Council, like every good and masterly scheme, was to testify to its excellence, even as the arrangements of the Divine government of the universe testify to their goodness and authority, by securing not only manifold but heterogeneous advantages. Not only was the Church and her interests to be so presented to mankind as to render possible the formation of a genuinely popular Catholic party; but the constitutionalism of the Church, which had for ages been an obstacle and a thorn in the flesh to those whose modes of action and whose power require a despotic monarch, the back-stairs *entrée* to whose cabinet should be in their own keeping, was to be destroyed. And this the

Council was destined to effect, and has most wonderfully, and in defiance of all that might antecedently have been deemed probable or even possible, effected!

Could it have been deemed possible that an assembly of the Bishops of the universal Church, who had for generations past been feeling that the old episcopal liberty and authority of the primitive Church was gradually being confiscated to the profit of a central despotism, and had been more or less audibly groaning under the oppression, would have given their own votes for the absolute and final suppression of that liberty and authority? Could it have been deemed possible that an assembly of Bishops, brought together by the exercise of despotic authority, in defiance of the wishes and the opinion of the recognised and constituted advisers of the Holy See, could do this thing? The Jesuits thought that it was possible. They judged that the difficulty was not too great to be overcome by the means at their disposition—and they judged rightly!

So much romantic trash has been written and talked about the Jesuits, and Protestant intolerance and bigotry has revolted so many minds by its wide-eyed bugaboo absurdities, that a reaction has been

produced in public opinion, which has carried its ever-swaying pendulum very much too far in a contrary direction. The world will find out yet that those who know the Jesuits best are those who fear them most. And surely the well-known and ascertained facts of the history of the Company ought to suffice to persuade the world of this truth. If we decline to accept as gospel all that Mr. Whalley tells us, we must admit that Clement the Fourteenth knew something about the Fathers of the Gesù.

How far and how entirely the Jesuits have succeeded in getting the future of the Church into their own hands will not be known till the world sees the result of the next Conclave, which no man, not even Father Beckx himself, surveying the progress of the game from the serene heights of Fiesole, can predict with any degree of assurance. Of course the Sacred College is very far from being the same body now that it was when it vainly counselled the Pontiff against his design of summoning an Œcumenical Council. And of course every fresh creation of Cardinals modifies the chances of the result of the next election. But there can be no doubt that the Jesuitising faction at the Vatican has gained much

ground in the College since that day; and much doubt whether a similar question put now to their Eminences would meet (if votes were taken) with a similar reply.

At any rate, the Jesuits have succeeded wonderfully thus far. And their success has probably availed to convert to their views some members of the Sacred College, anxious only for what they deem the interests of the Church. The occupation of the pontifical throne by a man with such virtues and such failings as Pius the Ninth made a priceless opportunity for them. An old and often repeated observation has pointed out the singular analogies which may be discovered between the sacerdotal and the female character. And it must have been the study of such priests as the present Pontiff which first prompted the remark: "With, with a woman's failings, not against them, must he work, who seeks her overthrow!" says Taylor in his "Van Artevelde."* And that was the way the Jesuits went to work with Pius the Ninth. "You shall step forth before the converging eyes of the whole admiring world, a God on earth; or if not absolutely

* Or in better words to the same effect. I quote from memory, and have not the book at hand.

a God, a God's Vicegerent endowed with absolutely God-like power and attributes! YOU, absolutely YOU individually, not the mere personified abstraction of an impersonal Church, shall in YOUR PROPER PERSON enjoy an authority and a dignity and an awful reverence, which no man yet on earth, save the God-Man Himself, has ever enjoyed or known! YOU shall be a Pope such as no Pope from Peter downwards has ever been!"

And wonderfully have they kept the word of promise! With what glorious magnificence has he stood before the reverent world alone upon the stage, draped in the ample folds of the great pontifical mantle, which so entirely and decorously concealed the humble, crouching, gleaming-eyed, black figure in square-cornered cap, pulling the wires that regulated the movements of the majestic puppet!

But no pagan Leo the Tenth, no clever sceptical Benedict the Fourteenth, no shrewd Clement the Fourteenth would have served the turn, or could have played the part. It needed the enormous capacity of faith requisite to enable an infallible Pope to believe in himself. It needed a sincerity of piety strong enough to supply a motive for the devotion of a life, joined to a poverty of native intelli-

gence capable of seriously accepting practices, institutions, and inventions based on superstitions of the most grovelling and fetish-like kind, and in conjunction with these qualities a personal vanity, craving for admiration, and love of representation ruling the mind with the intensity of a master-passion.

All these were present in the Pontiff, whom the Jesuits found prepared to their hand mainly by nature, but in great part also by the singular vicissitudes of his Papacy. And the Œcumenical Council was the result. What that will eventually result in time will show!

CHAPTER V.

THE OPENING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE 8TH OF DECEMBER.—MEETING IN THE HALL IN THE VESTIBULE OVER ST. PETER'S.—PROCESSION THENCE TO THE CHURCH.—THE HALL PREPARED FOR THE COUNCIL IN ST. PETER'S.—THE DOOR-KEEPERS OF THE COUNCIL.—THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE MEMBERS.—IMPERFECT ACOUSTIC CONDITIONS.—SCENE PRESENTED AT THE OPENING.—DIVERGENCE BETWEEN THE SENTIMENTS AND THE VOTES OF MANY MEMBERS.—THE OPENING CEREMONIAL.—THE POPE'S ALLOCUTION.—HIS EMOTION.—EMOTIONS NOT CONVICTIONS.—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEMPERAMENT OF PIUS THE NINTH.—CONCLUSION OF THE CEREMONY, AND OF THE FIRST DAY'S SITTING.

At nine in the morning of the 8th of December, 1869, the guns on the Monte Aventino, and the bells of all the churches in Rome announced to the world the opening of the twentieth Œcumenical Council. And at the same hour those who were to take part in it were assembling in the great hall which is over the vestibule of the Church of St. Peter. It was remarked at the time that the Pope,

in defiance of the ordinary etiquette which prescribes that in any ceremony or function of any kind he does not leave his private apartments till everything is ready and everybody in his appointed place, was among the first who came to the hall of meeting, and seating himself, awaited the assembling of all who were to file down before him into the church.

Various authorities give the number of those who assembled somewhat differently. But the following statement may be accepted as very nearly if not absolutely accurate. There were forty Cardinals, somewhat over seven hundred Bishops, twenty Mitred Abbots, five Abbots *nullius*, and about thirty Generals of Orders. It is, however, quite certain that the votes given at the first voting were six hundred and seventy-eight—of the Bishops present nine were Patriarchs, four of the Latin, five of the Oriental rite; five Archbishop Primates, and over a hundred and thirty Archbishops. It must be understood, however, that all these Bishops were not Diocesans. Many were Bishops *in partibus*. Some of the Patriarchs, as Pomponio Leto observes, had never left Rome in their lives; and many of the Bishops would have been puzzled

to tell the geographical position of the places from which they took their titles. All these, as well as the Abbots and Generals of orders, were admitted to sit at the Council, and by special privilege to vote; a concession which, as Pomponio Leto remarks, and many others have remarked, exercised an importantly modifying effect on the composition of an assembly which should have consisted only of Bishops having the cure of souls; an office which certainly must be held to ensure a greater degree of responsibility and a larger amount of knowledge and experience than was likely to be found in men who for the most part were mere creatures of the Pope and courtiers of the Apostolic Court. Their presence, however, contributed to make the Council of the Vatican the most numerous of any which the Church has ever seen.

When all were assembled, the Pontiff rose, and going to prostrate himself before the altar began to intone the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which the choir took up after him, as the procession put itself into movement. First went the Pope's Chamberlains and private Chaplains; next the Advocates of Consistory, the Prothonotaries of the Council and the Members of the Choir. Then came the "Ab-

breviatori del Parco maggiore," the "Votanti di Segnatura," the Clerks of the Chamber, the "Auditori di Rota;" from which four bodies eight prelates, chosen two from each, acted as scrutators of votes at the Council. After them came the Master of the Sacred Hospital, and two chaplains, one carrying the threefold tiara, and the other the Pope's mitre. After these began the defile of those who were to form a constituent part of the Council. Preceded by an incense-bearer, and the Apostolic Subdeacon carrying the papal cross between two acolytes, the Mitred Abbots walked first, then the Abbots *nullius*, the Bishops, Archbishops, Prelates, Patriarchs, and then the Cardinals according to their order. Each Bishop and Cardinal was accompanied by a train-bearer. Behind the Cardinals came the Senator and the "Conservators" of Rome, the Vice-treasurer of the Holy Church, the "Prince attendant on the throne" (a lay office always held by one of the principal of the Roman aristocracy), then two Prothonotaries, the Cardinal Deacon, the masters of the ceremonies, and behind them the Pope, carried in the "sedia gestatoria"—the chair raised on men's shoulders, the appearance of which is so well known from very many engravings of

papal ceremonies—with the canopy or "*baldacchino*" held aloft over him. Behind him followed various officials attached to the service of the Council in sundry capacities; then the Generals of the religious orders; then other officials, the secretaries, the notaries, and lastly the stenographers.

The procession moved between two compact masses of clergy of all ranks inferior to the episcopal, passing first by the hall which lies between the Sistine and Paoline chapels, and thence by the Scala Regia to the portico of the church, and entered it by the great central door. For the first time in the memory of man, as more than one eye-witness has remarked, the vast Basilica seemed to be full! The Pope, as well as every other dignitary forming the procession, was dressed in white, "because it was the day sacred to the Immaculate Conception." The Pontiff wore not the threefold crown, but a very precious mitre which had been made for the occasion, the use of which, instead of the "triregno," was adopted to signify the equality of all Bishops as such. At the entrance to the church the Pope descended from the "sedia gestatoria," walked to the papal altar, and then halted.

The hall prepared for the sittings of the Council

consists of the right hand or southern transept of St. Peter's Church. This was walled in for the purpose, and has indeed remained in the same condition ever since. The great door in the wall which divides it from the body of the church remained open to the curiosity of the public during the first formal sitting; and this was the case also on the occasion of all the subsequent *public* meetings of the Council. It was kept shut only during the *private* or debating sittings of that body. It was a question to whom the "keeping" of this door should be entrusted. For on the one hand an ancient privilege attributed this duty to the Knights of St. John, or of the Order of Jerusalem; and on this occasion the representatives of that time-honoured Order presented themselves for the purpose of undertaking the duty. On the other hand, it is the special duty of the Pope's Noble Guard to be always on guard wherever the Pope may be. So the matter was settled by entrusting the keeping of the Council door to both these bodies in conjunction. Over this door is inscribed in large gilt letters, "Docete omnes gentes. Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi."

On a raised daïs at one end of the hall is the papal throne, and around it the seats for the Patriarchs and Cardinals, then in a semicircle of seven tiers of benches, one below another down to the level of the floor, the seats for the Bishops. Every seat is numbered, and to every member of the Council was distributed a ticket with a corresponding number on it, which was also the number attached to the individual in the printed catalogue of the members, with which every member was furnished. A few paintings decorated the hall, the general appearance of which was grandiose from the size and character of the locality, but in all other respects very simple. No sooner, however, were the members of the Council congregated within it, than its one great defect was disclosed—the acoustic conditions were very bad, as indeed might have been anticipated from the enormous height, the colossal proportions of the arches, and the form of the building.

As Pomponio Leto sarcastically puts it, "The immense vaults and huge arches of the nave adapted themselves with marked partiality to the wishes of that portion of the Council which is accused of having been no very warm partisan of discussion."

For the work of voting, acoustic perfection was in nowise needed!

It was nearly eleven o'clock before the members got seated in their places in the hall, "the Pope upon his throne"—I quote again from the same writer—"the Cardinals and Patriarchs in their seats, and then all the Bishops, Latins, Greeks, Ruthenians, Roumanians, Bulgarians, Syrians, Chaldeans, Maronites, Copts, Armenians, each on his proper bench, and dressed in the pontifical vestments peculiar to his rite. Assembled as they were on that day, they presented one of the most solemn and marvellous spectacles that could be offered to the eye of man, especially in our days, which are so far removed from exhibitions of such external pomp. Nor was it possible for any spectator, however little well-disposed towards that assembly, not to be struck with wonder, not so much at the magnificence of the ceremony as at the vigour of that institution, which after so many, many ages of existence could without any means more cogent than a simple letter of invitation bring together into the presence of a single man from the farthest parts of the earth such an assembly of men of all nations, bound by a discipline which possesses hardly any sensible sanction, and

yet, as regards many among them, devoted to a degree unknown to any other assembly in the world, to the voluntary and deliberate effacement of themselves, that is to say, and intent not on the extension of their own prerogatives, but, on the contrary, on tenaciously struggling against public opinion for the diminution of them. How well in the presence of such a sight does one conceive the indomitable sentiment of power and authority which has always dominated the Popes! None save they have ever reached to so prodigious an altitude of dominion, and above all of reverence!"

Yes! a wonderful sight indeed; and well calculated to induce a very sufficiently far-reaching train of reflections! But supposing, as I take it was the case, that the author of the above sentences wrote them immediately after the event he chronicles, and while he was still under the impression of it, it was probable that he must before the close—or rather the suspension—of the Council, have somewhat modified his opinion as to the eagerness of the majority of the members, or at least of the more conspicuous and authoritative among them, to contribute to the work of destroying their own prerogatives, liberty, power, and independence. They gave

the votes that effected this, it is true. But the most wonderful thing in the wonderful story of that assembly is the action of the force which compelled them—or at least many of them—to do the things they would not, and to give votes against their own convictions and wishes! That this wonderful power existed, that this extraordinary result could be brought about, the Jesuits, and they only, antecedently to the proof, understood and perceived. And wisdom was justified of her children!

As soon as ever the Pope had entered the hall, the Cardinal Vicar began to celebrate a solemn Mass. Then the Bishop of Iconium preached a Latin sermon; and when that was finished the Pope "received the obedience" of every member of the immense assembly; which ceremony consists of each one by one kneeling before him and kissing his knee. "What a prodigious force of memory," remarks Pomponio Leto, "must a *Servus Servorum Dei* possess to remember that humble formula during the whole of such a ceremony!"

Thrice, when this had been got through, the Pontiff blessed the assembly; and then he pronounced the allocution of the opening of the Council. Towards the end of his address a thrill of genuine

emotion ran through the assembly, and by virtue of the contagious nature of such sentiments, which operate with an accumulated force proportioned to the numerousness of the gathering, caused a chord of genuine feeling to vibrate in many an aged breast long unused to such. The Pope himself was in a state of high enthusiasm during the whole of the immensely long and most fatiguing ceremony. Any one who has formed any tolerably accurate conception of the nature and character of Pius the Ninth would be sure that such would be the case. But I will once more quote from the same eye-witness I have so often cited in the above account of this memorable day, his description of the Pontiff's bearing on the occasion.

"All," says he, "who have ever had an opportunity of knowing him, are aware how sensitive and prone to vivid emotions is the nature of the Pope. In that instant (the conclusion of his opening allocution), the most profound faith and the highest enthusiasm seemed to fire him, and, despite his great age (then seventy-seven), kept him alert in person and indefatigable during the whole of the immensely long and fatiguing ceremony. It is the specialty of strong convictions and powerful sentiments to communi-

cate themselves rapidly.* The Pope, who had been much moved during the whole ceremony, uttered at the end of his allocution two invocations, one to the Holy Spirit, the other to the Virgin. When he came to that point in his discourse, he rose, lifting up his arms to heaven, and all the assembly as by a common impulse stood up. It was at that moment a very solemn spectacle! The germs of those divisions which were to come over those minds and cool that enthusiasm had not yet shown themselves; and all the emotions, all the fears, and all the hopes of the Catholic world were seething in the hearts of its universal assembly."

A solemn and a moving spectacle and moment no doubt! But how much more so would it have been had it really been the case that convictions could have been communicated by contact as well as emotions. In the case of the Pope no such distinction either in that moment or any subsequent moment existed to diminish the genuine fervour of his enthusiasm. Endowed with a nature incapable

* The eloquent observer who writes thus makes a mistake. It *is* the specialty of strong *emotions* thus to communicate and propagate themselves. *Convictions* can be communicated in no such manner, but only by very different means. The error is a characteristic one.

of distinguishing between convictions and emotions, they were in him one and the same thing. And in the present case no doubt the green-room rule, which teaches an actor that to reach the summit of his art and powerfully move his audience, he must not be mastered by his own emotions, was not applicable. Pius felt all that at that great moment he seemed to feel, and he did profoundly move his audience.

When the allocution was concluded, further prayers were recited, the *Veni Creator* was sung, and the formal decree for the opening of the Council was read. Then the formal question had to be put to the members of the assembly, whether it pleased them that the labours of the Council should begin. To this the classical *placet* was spoken in reply; another hymn was sung; the next sitting was appointed for the 6th of January, 1870, and the first sitting of the twentieth Œcumenical Council was at an end.

CHAPTER VI.

EFFECT OF THE DOGMA OF THE INFALLIBILITY ON THE CHARACTER OF PIUS.—THE HISTORY OF THE COUNCIL.—THE MOTIVES AND CHARACTER OF ITS PROMOTERS.—TAMPERING WITH THE VOICE OF THE CHURCH.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL.—SECRECY OBSERVED WITH REFERENCE TO THE TOPICS TO BE DISCUSSED.—POSITION AND ATTITUDE OF THE "CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA."—OPPOSITION RAISED BY IT.—THE WORK OF THE "CONGREGATIONS."—THE WORK OF POMPONIO LETO ON THE COUNCIL.—POSITION ASSUMED BY ARCHBISHOP MANNING AS LEADER OF THE INFALLIBILIST PARTY.—THE DECLARATION OF PERSONAL INFALLIBILITY THE GREAT OBJECT AND AIM OF THE COUNCIL.—NUMBER AND HOPES OF THE OPPOSITION.—ST. PETER'S DAY.—GROWTH OF THE DOCTRINE OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.—APPROACH OF THE HOT SEASON.—POPE'S SPEECH ON THE DAY OF CORPUS DOMINI.—COMMENCEMENT OF DISCUSSION ON THE 18TH OF JUNE.—ORATION OF CARDINAL GUIDI.—RESTRICTION OF DEBATE.—NO FORMULA OF CONCILIATION POSSIBLE.—APPEAL OF THE OPPOSITION TO THE POPE.—EFFECTS OF THE INCREASING HEAT.—HURRIED CHARACTER OF THE CONCLUDING SCENES.

FEW events which have ever happened in the world can be supposed to have done anything towards

modifying the character of a man in whose seventy-seventh year they occurred. But I think that may be supposed to have happened to Pius the Ninth from the holding of the Œcumenical Council. Of course all the world knows that the most notable, the most portentous result of the Council was the dogmatic definition, in such sort as to render the tenet an article of faith necessary to salvation, of the personal infallibility of the Pontiff! The bare statement of such a proposition is staggering in its monstrosity; and when it is contemplated in conjunction with a recollection of some of the most salient pages of ecclesiastical history, and with the consideration that all former Popes must needs have been as personally infallible as the present Pontiff, the mind is lost in amazement at the brazen-faced audacity of those who propound, and the *utpote-cadaver*-like self-denial and prostration of the intellect of those who receive it!

Of course it is not meant that the man who is Pope can in his own person do no wrong, or fall into no error. The doctrine is that that which the Pope as Pope and *ex cathedrâ* declares to be right and true, cannot be wrong or false. And this is supposed to have been the case with such men as Leo the Tenth and Alexander the Sixth.

I think that this greatness cannot be thrust upon a man even in his seventy-seventh year, without modifying his nature and his character. And there can be no doubt that in the case of the Pontiff, the modification was very much for the worse.

This is not the place for a history of the Council. Such a history of that great event, the full greatness and significance of which has hardly yet been appreciated by the Protestants of this country, as should, without entering on the technically theological portion of the subject, set forth to the English reader with sufficient detail *what* was done by the Council, and *how* it was done, would not, I think, be found uninteresting by a large number of persons in this country. But a volume about as large as that which the reader has in his hand would be needed for the purpose; and if it had been essayed here would have caused a digression out of all proportion with the other facts of this narrative. Nevertheless an attempt must be made to tell as briefly and summarily as may be both what was done and how it was accomplished.

It is usually said to be unwise and uncharitable to impute motives. Yet it is often the business and the duty of an historian to do so; and all that the

moralist can say to him on the subject is to bid him remember that his estimate should be charitable, and must needs be doubtful. And it must especially and greatly be doubtful when those whose conduct has to be estimated are of so different a category of human beings from the appraiser of it, as are the ecclesiastics who ruled the operations of the Council from an English Protestant. This must be duly borne in mind. But bearing it in mind, and endeavouring to give the consideration its due weight, it is still hardly possible to doubt that those who guided, or forced rather, the Council to do the work it did, must have had the conscience that they were doing ill. Of course the A. M. D. G. can do much towards forming a conscience differently constituted from that of other moralists. But the sanctity of a Council, the more than merely human value of the consensus of the Universal Church, the awful and mystic authority of its sanction, must have been to the minds of those men either a certain and unspeakably solemn reality, or a base imposture and a farce. If the latter—*res judicata est!* But if the former were the case, how is such a belief compatible with the attempt—the successful attempt, to falsify, juggle with, and force the solemn verdict of the

assembly, on the genuineness of whose freely and independently recorded opinion the entire theory of their system is based? It is possible to conceive that the promoters of the doctrine of the personal Infallibility of the Pope may have held the opinion that that dogma tended to the advantage of the Church, and that this was identical with the truest and best interests of mankind. The latter opinion is, as we all know, most sincerely held by a large portion of mankind. But it is wholly impossible to conceive that the man who thus thinks of the Church should imagine that good, which depends on the fundamental postulate of the Church's unity, could be secured by fraudulent tampering with that unity, and with the voice professing to proceed from it.

And now let us see, so far as is compatible with the necessary brevity, whether the managers of the Council were not guilty of such tampering.

Of course preparation was needed for the discussions of such a body as the Council. It was simply impossible that a parliament of six or seven hundred individuals, however competent each one of them might be, could set about the discussion of any subject without a plan and without guidance. And this was accordingly provided. After the proclama-

tion put before the meeting of the Council, the Pope appointed a commission of eight Cardinals, Patrizi, Reisach, Bernabò, Panebianco, Bizzarri, Bilio (who is said to have had a great part in the drawing up of the Syllabus), Caterini, and Capalti, to undertake the direction of the preparatory business. This commission appointed six other commissions, presided over by six of their own number, to each of which a special category of subjects was entrusted. Bilio was at the head of that to which dogmatic theology was entrusted; Reisach of that which undertook ecclesiastical polity; Bernabò, Oriental affairs; Bizzarri, matters concerning the religious orders; Patrizi, ceremonial affairs; Caterini, ecclesiastical discipline. The members of the six commissions thus formed were theologians selected by the Pope and the eight Cardinals who have been named from among churchmen of all Catholic nations. And to these persons thus selected were confided "entirely, or at least almost entirely,"* the subjects which it was intended that the Council should discuss *under the seal of the most profound secrecy.* At the same time a very much smaller list of subjects was communicated to the Bishops, for their study in preparation for the

* Pomponio Leto, p. 27.

meeting of the Assembly. With the exception of this restricted list of subjects, *the most profound secrecy* as to the matters to be brought before the Council was observed at the Vatican.

And here at the very threshold we come to the first thing that cannot but give rise to suspicion that this Council of the Vatican was not intended to have those characteristics on which the entire value of an Œcumenical Council depends. Why this secrecy? It might have been imagined that it would have been desired that the whole Catholic world, or at least the whole of the ecclesiastical portion of it should have been made acquainted with the subjects which were to be brought before the Council. And, in fact, this secrecy did awaken suspicion in the Church. It was much commented on and complained of, especially in Germany. And it was at the same time remarked, that the mode of proceeding thus adopted had the effect of placing the Episcopate of the Church at a serious disadvantage, inasmuch as these despotically-selected theologians were thus placed in a notably superior position to the Bishops who were their hierarchical superiors, and a position which in fact gave them a much greater power and authority in the Council. This was the first indica-

tion of the path on which the Vatican was entering that engendered that opposition party in the Church, which its subsequent proceedings, so fatally to the unity of the Church, confirmed and increased.

The next thing that astonished and scandalised the ecclesiastical world was the strange position of influence and authority in the preparations for the Council assumed by and accorded to a newspaper—the *Civiltà Cattolica!* This paper was known to be highly influential at the Vatican, and it was soon seen that it was the only public organ in Europe that had the information necessary to enable it to speak with knowledge, and the only one in Rome that was permitted to speak on the subject whatever it chose to say. In fact, the *Civiltà Cattolica* was simply and avowedly the voice of the Jesuits. The Fathers of "the Company" entered largely into the composition of the commissions that have been referred to; but it is known that they nevertheless found some difficulty in imposing on those bodies the entire acceptance of their views. But they did succeed in doing so to an extent which emboldened them to commence in the *Civiltà* a series of articles on "Matters relating to the Council," which in fact set forth their programme of the conduct of the

Council, and of the matters to be treated at it. And the astonished Catholic world saw a newspaper assuming tones of authority and direction as to the deliberations of the Universal Church! But those who knew what that newspaper was, felt alarm as well as surprise and indignation. And these sentiments culminated in a general outcry, when on the 6th of February, 1869, the *Civiltà* came out with (under the transparent veil of a correspondence from France) a regular and complete programme of the work to be done by the Council, the main scope of which it announced to be the dogmatic adoption and proclamation of the Syllabus, of the Infallibility of the Pope, and of the Corporeal Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The *Civiltà* had at the same time the audacity to state that the preparatory labours of the Council was in so great a degree complete, and the opinion of the Church so manifest, that the Council would have but little work to do, and would be of short duration.

The outcry occasioned by this audacious article was such that the Jesuits deemed it prudent to retreat a little, which the *Civiltà* did in its April number, declaring that it had merely printed the ideas of a French correspondent. Nevertheless it con-

tinued to defend and enforce those ideas; the defence put forward availed nothing; and the opposition party in the Church became more alarmed, more decided in opposition, and more convinced that the Jesuits did not intend that the Œcumenical Council should have those characteristics which alone could entitle it to be considered such by the Universal Church.

Immediately after the first public session, which has been described in a former chapter, the "congregations" began. The first were for the public and formal voting and declaration of what was done, and what determinations arrived at. The second took place with closed doors; and the business of discussion and all the real work of the Council was done in them. They were secret; but, as Pomponio Leto remarks, such secrecy as is possible when seven or eight hundred people share the secret, cannot prevent the world from being informed with sufficient accuracy of all that took place.

But I must not suffer myself to be led into occupying the reader with the history of the Council, or even to stray so far from the proper subject of these volumes as to indicate the causes of the continually increasing discontent, which beginning, as has been

seen, before the opening of the Assembly, became constantly greater and more pregnant with schism till its close. It would take too much space to explain in a manner intelligible to those to whom the subject is a new one, all the many various tricks and inventions to which the Vatican managers of the Council had recourse for the purpose of limiting the freedom of debate, preventing intercommunication of opinion, and forcing votes by compelling the voters to give them hoodwinked, and by shutting out from them any other exit than that towards which they were being driven. Those who would judge for themselves how much justification may be found under all these headings for the accusation that the Jesuits and Jesuitising managers of the Council proved themselves to be fraudulent impostors by tampering with that voice of the Church, on the sanctity of which they profess the entire value of their action to depend, must consult the work which I have so often quoted, and to which I am under such large obligations.*

I hurry on to the great work of the Council, the declaration of the personal Infallibility of the Pontiff.

* "Otto Mesi a Roma durante il Concilio Vaticano. Impressioni di un Contemporaneo, per Pomponio Leto." Firenze, 1873.

Its advocates and promoters did not confine their efforts to the debates in the Council Hall. "An address," says Pomponio Leto, "was carried round by the Archbishop of Westminster,* and by the Fathers of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, accompanied by a letter addressed to the Bishops urging them to demand from the Council the proclamation of the personal Infallibility of the Pope in matters of faith and morals. It was all very well to talk of other subjects; this was the dominant point of the matter, *the* question of the Vatican Council. All other subjects yielded place, and grouped themselves around this. Everybody, according to his mode of thinking, according to his views and his wishes, felt that in that was centred the *to be or not to be.*"†

It would seem from various impartial and carefully-considered data for calculation that the number of adherents obtained in the first instance in this manner was about four hundred. The first signature to the address was that of the Archbishop of Westminster. It was said also that the Bishop of Baltimore, one of the very few American Infallibilists,

* Dr. Manning was considered as the leader of the Infallibilists, as Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, was of the Anti-infallibilists.

† *Sic* in orig.

was one of the eighteen who signed it. And it was noted that among them there was but one, if any, Italian. But in such an Assembly as that of the Council, though votes may be formally and officially counted, the moral value and result must depend on the weighing of them. And though it is unquestionable that the Jesuit managers of the Council were sufficiently adroit masters of the art of working on human weaknesses to secure a considerable numerical majority for the affirmation of the doctrine, which they were determined to thrust down the throat of the Church, the record, nevertheless, remains ineffaceable that it was finally protested against by almost every man, authoritative either by personal qualifications or by the importance of the See represented by him.

The long debates on this the great question of the Council are highly instructive and interesting; but we must hurry on to the conclusion.

It was the middle of June, and the formula of the intended definition had not yet been made known to the Council. The festival of St. Peter was approaching; and it was known that the Infallibilists had counted on obtaining the desired vote on that day. All kinds of speculations were rife among the

anxious Fathers of the Church, as to the shape which the dreaded *formula* would take. The more optimist flattered themselves that the Vatican might be content with that adopted by St. Antonine, the sainted Bishop of Florence, according to which the Pope is infallible when he teaches in accordance with the counsel of the Bishops and the assent of the Universal Church. But an assertion so harmless as this would by no means have contented the Infallibilists of the nineteenth century. And those who were best aware of their intentions felt very little hope that anything short of a declaration of infallibility, pure and simple, would serve their turn.

Much anxiety was felt also as to the number of those who might be counted on to oppose the decree, and it was thought that this number might be reckoned at something between eighty and a hundred and thirty. This it is to be understood was the number not of those who were known to be adverse to the doctrine in their hearts, or even of those who had opposed it in the congregations, but of those who could be counted on to speak out their "non placet" publicly at the time of voting in the presence of the Pope, which was a very different matter. But all these countings and cal-

culations were considered to be labour lost by many who believed that the majority would really do as they loudly declared they would, vote the decree by force of numbers without any regard to the minority. Still the opinion was strong in many, both in Rome and throughout the Catholic world, that the Jesuits and the majority would not venture to declare the doctrine voted and accepted by the Universal Church in the face of an opposition so considerable in point of numbers, and more considerable still in weight of authority and character.

The discussions on the points which preceded that concerning the Infallibility were rapidly got over, many Bishops even professing to deem them of no importance, so entirely were the minds of all occupied with the one great question. The discussion of that was reached on the 15th of June. And as the names of eighty orators were inscribed to speak against it, it was evidently impossible that the dogma should be pronounced on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul—the 29th—to the great disappointment of the dominant party. Far more importance had been attached to this, than persons of modern and unecclesiastical habits of mind will readily imagine. It was thought that the grand

coup de théâtre of the announcement of the Infallibility *urbi et orbi*, would have made a greater effect and been found more impressive if it could have been proclaimed on that day. This, however, was now manifestly impossible.

Most curious and interesting is the story of the slow and often interrupted progress and growth in the Church of the notion of Papal Infallibility. Most remarkable is the regularity with which each recurring attempt of the human mind to emancipate itself from the yoke of the papal pretensions has been followed by an advance of the theories of unconditional submission. Not that the attempts have been wholly unsuccessful. But every diminution in the numbers of the papal flock has been followed by the assumption of increased authority over those which have remained to him. Each loss in quantity (so to express it) has been followed by a gain in quality. Each restriction of the papal authority to a smaller area has had the effect of intensifying the exorbitance of the Pontiff's pretensions within that area. And the causes which have produced this undeviating progression are the same, which seem to the present writer to make it questionable whether Pius the Ninth has not upon

the whole done well instead of ill for the future of his Church by his Syllabus and his Council.

But interesting as this story is, and despite a certain notion which the present writer confesses himself to entertain that he could so tell the story as to make it interesting to "the general reader," it cannot be told here.

The impossibility of attaining the proclamation of the desired dogma on the 29th caused the managers of the Council and the majority to be in less hurry than would have otherwise been the case. Nevertheless the Roman summer was at hand, and this was a very serious consideration. But it was one which might cut two ways. There has never been a Papal Conclave in the latter summer or autumn at Rome without loss of life. Several Cardinals have in some cases died of an autumnal Conclave. What then might not be expected from the presence in Rome at that season of some seven or eight hundred stranger Bishops? That the prospect of continuing the sitting of the Council during July, August, and perhaps September, was a somewhat appalling one, was in nowise doubtful. The doubt was which party would be most likely to be frightened by it! The majority, however, had this pull—that the

opposition were prevented from making up their minds and concerting their plans to face the danger at all costs by a very general opinion that the managers would not take the responsibility of keeping the Fathers in Rome during the unhealthy season. On the other hand, both parties were equally aware that all might be lost or all gained by an adjournment. They were also aware that this adjournment would be a triumph for the Anti-infallibilists.

The Thursday was the festival of the Corpus Domini, and on that account no Congregation was held on that day. The Pope receiving the felicitations of the Sacred College by the mouth of the Cardinal-Vicar, as usual made a very remarkable reply, in which speaking of the Bishops assembled in Rome, he divided them into three categories: the 1st, of those dominated by the spirit of the world, who care for popularity more than for truth (*i.e.* the opposition party), for whose better illumination he prayed; 2nd, those who were uncertain, on whose behalf he prayed that the Holy Spirit would grant them more decision; and 3rd, those who walked in the paths of the Lord (*i.e.* the Infallibilists), whom he fervently blessed. It was

thought at the time by all save the latter, that this speech, which thus professed to decide the very point which the Council was called to discuss, was rather a strong proof of the correctness of the opinions of the opposition! But Pius the Ninth has not an intellect capable of perceiving the logical difficulties which are apt to be generated by the mental habit of begging questions.

On Saturday, the 18th of June, the real discussion of the doctrine in question was commenced in the Congregation—"a memorable day, inasmuch as it saw the opening of the final combat, which (though from all that had already passed it might be deemed already decided) was nevertheless that which was to decide irrevocably the fate of the Catholic Church in its conflict—the gravest which it ever yet had!—with the tendencies and the civil society of our days." *

The first to speak on that day were the Cardinals Ranscher, Pietro, Bonnechose, Cullen, and Guidi. But the event of the day was the speech of the last—Cardinal Guidi. A very eloquent address brought him to the conclusion that the Pope cannot define a doctrine without the Council, or without the counsel

* Pomponio Leto, p. 269.

of the Church. Whether he said "sine Concilio" or "sine consilio" was doubted. But in either case his speech fell like a bombshell among the Infallibilists! It had been fully expected that he would have spoken on the other side. It was thought at the time that he had been led by his own eloquence to go a step farther than he had intended at the moment of commencing his address, when he demanded the *anathema* for whoso should maintain the contrary proposition; a decree which, as it was remarked, would seem, considering all that he had taken upon himself to do, to involve in an *anathema* Pius the Ninth himself. Cardinal Guidi was "sent for" the next day to the Vatican. What passed between him and the Holy Father can of course only be guessed.

The debate continued to drag its slow length along amid the increasing heat till the end of June. Stringent measures were taken by the managers to restrict its duration. No orator was allowed to speak more than twenty minutes, the expiration of that time being inexorably marked by the ringing of a bell. Nevertheless the end of June was reached, and nothing had as yet been done; or at least nothing save the attainment by both parties of

the conviction that a prolonged search for some form of words which by sailing curiously close to the wind might so far satisfy both parties as to serve for a compromise, was hopeless. As Pomponio Leto puts it: "All those tentatives were equally vain from the same cause—that the majority would on no account make any concession respecting the personal Infallibility of the Pope; and on the other hand the opposition, which had suffered from so many illusory hopes and so many deceptions, and was now greatly irritated, would not lend itself to any fresh equivocations, and had become more distrustful and less yielding. There was besides this what may be called the technical difficulty arising from the fact, that inasmuch as the Popes had by a constant and insensible expansion of their authority gradually reached the most absolute authority, and inasmuch as being in possession of this authority with full jurisdiction over the entire Church, and thus in fact enjoying all the substance of Infallibility, it hence came to pass that in the course of this long and undisputed advance of encroachment all the subtleties of phraseology, all the sophisms, all the most ingenious combinations of words and shades of significance had already been exhausted in the pro-

cess, and there was nothing more to be done in that line. Nothing further remained but to say the word. And the Council therefore was placed in this inevitable dilemma: either it must proclaim the Infallibility pure and simple, or leave matters as they were. But the latter course was held by the Infallibilists of the majority to be equivalent to a defeat." As it unquestionably would have been.

In these circumstances the opposition at the end of June determined to make one more attempt, by suggesting an issue which seemed to them to offer an opportunity to the Holy Father and the majority of escaping from a position which could not but have been full of difficulty and embarrassment to them, without any semblance of defeat, and which would have satisfied all parties. They prepared a memorial to the Pontiff, signed by a great number of Bishops, in which they begged for a prorogation of the Council on the ground of the sanitary condition of Rome. The heat had become very great; many Bishops had already fallen ill during the last few days; it might be expected that many more would from day to day be incapacitated from taking part in the business of the assembly. Would it not

be better to adjourn it to a more healthful season ?

But this memorial shared the fate of various others, by which many of the leading Bishops had at an earlier period striven with most eloquent entreaties to turn the Pope from his purpose. No answer was returned to it, save that the Pontiff was inexorably determined that the Congregations should continue their work uninterruptedly until the matter for the consideration of which they had been called together should have been discussed.

I must quote again from my guide Pomponio :

" Whoever has felt the Roman summer may imagine the effect it must have produced on all those northern Bishops accustomed to the salubrious airs, the abounding waters, and fresh shades of Germany ! In advanced life these mutations of climate, which in other subjects might not produce important consequences, cause serious and immediate results. A great part of those northern Bishops and of their attendants fell ill ! It is difficult to describe the weariness and discouragement which took possession of those temperaments accustomed to so different a climate during the long sittings and arduous and painful toil of the Council, under a

temperature which to the Calabrian, the Spaniard and the Mexican was normal and agreeable. Probably these latter had counted on the effects on their brethren of thirty-eight and thirty-nine degrees of Réaumur in the shade! This consideration had not been absent from the minds of the opposition when they had begged for adjournment. But the South was in the place of power, and the North could not obtain a hearing for this or any other of its pretensions."

In fact there was no longer any doubt that it was definitively determined by the managers of the Assembly and the majority to vote the dogma, for the sake of which the Council had been convened, despite all opposition, by sheer force of numbers. Some thirty German and Hungarian Bishops left Rome; and the party of the opposition was thus seriously weakened. After this the work was pushed on with a haste that was audaciously reckless and indecent. And the conclusion was marked by characteristics which will hereafter undeniably justify the Church of some future day in refusing to recognise the Council of the Vatican as a true and free Council of the Church, and in rejecting the dogmas and definitions it professes to have estab-

lished. There can be little doubt that such a future will arrive. But whether it will arrive sooner or later, will in all probability depend on the issue of the next Conclave.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INTENTIONS OF THE VATICAN BECOME EVIDENT.—MONDAY THE 4TH JULY IN THE COUNCIL.—VIOLENCE OF THE MAJORITY.—BREAKING UP OF THE SITTING OF THE 4TH.—CONDUCT OF THE DISSENTIENTS CRITICISED.—INDIGNATION OF THE MINORITY.—DIVIDED OPINION OF THE MINORITY.—FORMULA OF THE DOGMA OF THE INFALLIBILITY.—PROTESTANTS MIGHT FREELY SIGN THE FORMULA!—OPINIONS RESPECTING THE WORDING OF THE FORMULA.—MISGIVINGS OF THE PARTY OF THE VATICAN.—THE RESULT OF THE VOTING IN CONGREGATION ON THE 13TH.—DETERMINATION OF THE MAJORITY TO PROCEED AT ALL HAZARDS.—ADDITIONAL CLAUSE TO THE FORMULA.—ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE COUNCIL WAS NOT PROROGUED, ONLY SUSPENDED.—MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION ON THE 17TH.—LAST ATTEMPT AT CONCILIATION.—REJECTION OF IT BY THE POPE.—THE SIGNING OF THE PROTEST, AND RAPID DEPARTURE OF THE PROTESTORS.—THE FINAL VOTING. TWO NON PLACETS—CARDINAL GUIDI AND THE POPE.—ARCHBISHOP MANNING AND THE JESUITS.

FROM the beginning of July there was no longer any possibility of a doubt as to the intentions of the Vatican. It was the unbending purpose of the party which had the power in its hands to override

all opposition, and proceed to their aim *per fas aut nefas*. On the Sunday, the 3rd of July, the opposition held a meeting, at which, after much argument, it was determined to cease from all further effort in debate and allow the general discussion to be closed. This would be analogous to allowing the bill to be read a second time. The entirety of the "definition" would have to be voted at a subsequent "congregation," which may be likened to the third reading; but after that a more solemn and formal voting by "Placet" and "Non placet" at a public session in the presence of the Pontiff would be necessary to complete the declaration and promulgation of the dogma.

A Congregation was held on Monday the 4th. The business in hand was the discussion of the third clause of the "scheme" or law, as we should say, "concerning the Church." This third clause concerned the primacy of the See of Rome. The opposition went into "congregation" that day, as we have seen, decided to abandon further discussion. From the very beginning of the day's work the conduct of the majority justified their decision. The first Bishop who rose to speak on the opposition side was interrupted by sneers and expressions of

impatience and cries of "Abstineas!" "Rinuncias!" and the like. Strossmayer then got up, and declared that he and his friends renounced their right to speak further. Thereupon a Bishop of the majority jumped up, and said that since the opposition had nothing further to say, the discussion might be pronounced to be closed. And Cardinal de Luca, one of the Presidents, losing not a moment in acting on the suggestion, said a few words in praise of it, complimented those who renounced their right to speak as deserving the gratitude of the Assembly, and declared the discussion closed.

Curious was the scene which ensued on this rising of the Fathers almost immediately after the commencement of it! The carriages of almost all of them had been sent away, as nobody had imagined that the sitting would come to so sudden a conclusion. Quietly, many on foot, many huddled together into hack-carriages, they got back to the Vatican, where most of them were lodged, while the Romans were at a loss to think what so unusual a phenomenon indicated, guessing little, as Pomponio Leto says, of the influence which that humble procession was to exercise on the political and religious future of the world!

The conduct of the opposition in thus deciding to abstain from future debate has been much criticised. But in the first place, anything like free debate had become impossible amid the ill-will, the disapprobation, the interruptions, the ironical sneers, and oppression of the majority. Nor, in truth, was there much more to be said on the topics under discussion. The nature of the subject made it inevitably necessary that the same things should be said over and over again. When it had once become clear that the Pope was determined to refuse all proposals of prorogation, and to propose to the Council a formula expressing his personal infallibility pure and simple, there was nothing more to be done than to vote for it, or vote against it! Besides this, there was the very strong consideration that further delay was likely, or rather certain, to injure the cause of the opposition instead of the reverse. The strength of the opposition was among the men from the north; and these were the men who could not stand the heat. Day by day the strength of the opposition was weakened by one or more of its members falling ill, or leaving Rome; and, as the only hope of averting the promulgation of the dogma, which they deemed so fatal to the

future of the Church, depended on the possibility that the majority might still at the last shrink from publishing as the consentient doctrine of the Universal Church that which was dissented from by so large a portion of it, it was important that the vote should be reached before the number of dissentients was yet further diminished.

From that day, the 4th of July, when the general discussion was closed under circumstances so memorable, matters were pushed on at break-neck speed to the conclusion. The emendations which had been agreed to had to be printed, which caused a little delay; but the votation of the third clause was proceeded to on the 11th. When this clause came to the votation, it was discovered that some words had been added to the formula agreed upon, as was supposed by the Pope himself. The fact gave rise to a manifestation of disgust and indignation on the part of the opposition; but they were so worn-out, so discouraged, so harassed, and so hopeless, that they allowed the matter to pass without making it the cause of further delay.

The conduct of the opposition raised the hopes of the Vatican greatly—a result which was increased by the knowledge that dissension had entered the

ranks of their opponents. The French, under the leadership of the Bishop of Orleans, thought that the best course open to them was to sign a solemn protest, setting forth the excesses of the constraint that had been put upon them, the determination of the Pontiff and the majority to proceed with the work of the Council at a time and under sanitary circumstances intolerable to most of the members of the minority, and the violent repression of all real debate, especially during the latter days, and then to depart. Bishop Haynald and the Germans were, on the contrary, of opinion that they ought at every cost to remain to the end. They argued that so many protests had been made with utter futility already, that it was hardly consistent with the dignity of the opposition to make any more; and that, wholly just and true as the grounds of the proposed protest were, they were of such a nature as to be with difficulty proved in a sufficiently cogent and undeniable manner. It might, and ought to have been added, that, inasmuch as their best hope depended on the patent monstrosity of declaring a doctrine to be that of the Universal Church, which was openly declared not to be such by a large number of dissentient *votes*, given in the face of the

world by members sitting in the Council, it was of the last importance that as large a number as possible of such votes should be recorded at the last formal voting. I do not find that this entirely conclusive argument was urged with the prominence due to it, and there is reason to fear that this was due to the fact that the members of the opposition were by no means sure how far they could count upon the constancy of the individuals composing their party. At all events, the protest was not made, and the opposition seem to have proceeded in a sufficiently disorganised manner with no fixed plan of action.

Before the Congregation separated, after having declared the general discussion of the third clause closed, in the manner that has been related on the 4th of July, the formula of the declaration of Infallibility was at last distributed to the members! This had been long and eagerly waited for by the Assembly, but was not allowed to be known till almost the eve of the day on which it was to be voted! And such a fact alone is sufficient to demonstrate the altogether unjustifiable attitude assumed by those in power at the Vatican towards the Fathers of the Council. What! were the Bishops of the

Universal Church, assembled from every part of Christendom to deliberate on the teaching which was held to be necessary for the salvation of the souls of the entire human race, to be treated after the fashion of schoolboys going in for a competitive examination, to whom their papers are given out immediately before they are to go to work on them, for fear they should obtain extraneous assistance! And it is dreamed that the preposterous decision of a Council thus treated will be recognised by the Church of future generations as the true voice of the Universal Church!

The *formula* which the Bishops were called upon to vote runs thus:

"Itaque nos traditioni a fidei Christianæ exordio perceptæ fideliter inhærendo, ad Dei Salvatoris nostri gloriam, religionis Catholicæ exaltationem, et Christianorum populorum salutem, sacro approbante Concilio, docemus, et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus: Romanum Pontificem, cum ex cathedrâ loquitur, id est, cum omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens, pro suprema sua Apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam

divinam, ipsi in beato Petro promissam, ea Infallibilitate pollere, quâ divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit."

"Therefore We, faithfully adhering to the tradition of the Christian faith as received from the beginning, to the glory of God our Saviour, to the exaltation of the Catholic Religion, and to the salvation of Christian peoples, with the approbation of the Sacred Council, teach and define to be a divinely revealed dogma: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ* (that is, when in the discharge of his office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, he by his supreme Apostolic authority defines any doctrine concerning faith or morals as necessary to be held), has by the Divine assistance promised to him, in the person of St. Peter, the power of that Infallibility, with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be furnished in defining a doctrine concerning faith or morals."

The first thing that strikes a reader on perusal of this document is that it might be signed by any Protestant without hesitation! The Pope is in the

possession of that Infallibility which Christ willed that His Church should possess. And that is no infallibility at all! But the formula was proposed to men who firmly believed, or at least were precluded by their antecedents from professing disbelief in, the infallibility of the Church. And the day has not *yet* come when the Church will rid itself of the one proposition by abandoning the other.

It was intended that this formula, distributed on the Monday, should have been considered on the Tuesday or Wednesday, but the insistance of some Bishops that the conclusions come to respecting the third clause should be printed before they were voted, obtained from the Assembly a delay for the consideration of it till the 11th, the following Monday. And the intervening days were passed in eager and earnest debate on the wording of the formula, some maintaining that it was worse, some trying to persuade themselves that it was a shade less obnoxious than had been anticipated. But, as Pomponio Leto remarks, all this was of infinitely little import. "When a man has said that snow is white, there is little room for discussion whether it might have been better or worse said. In saying it

is white, all is said, and there can be no more talk about it."

Meantime, the Jesuits and the Vatican party were not altogether easy as to the result of the next and the following sittings. Antonelli—as always, more of a statesman than a priest—was anxious, and had misgivings as to the line of conduct that might be adopted by the various Governments of Europe when they found that their Bishops were to have no power of their own, which of course was a national power in some degree depending on the national Sovereignty; but were to be the representatives and mere mouth-pieces of a foreign Power, having interests and a policy of its own, and a discipline more cogent for the guiding of them than any sentiment of national duty or patriotism or allegiance. Antonelli saw this, and was not without anxious misgivings. But he was overruled by bolder or more ignorant spirits.

They were, however, still anxious about the conduct of the minority, and evidently shrank from proceeding to the promulgation of the dogma in the teeth of the proclaimed dissent of such a body as that which still composed the minority. Means were accordingly taken to sound the opposition

members individually as to what their line of conduct would be if it was decided to promulgate the doctrine in spite of them. And it was at the same time hinted that a document was being prepared to be presented for signature to all the recusants, by which they undertook either to submit or to vacate their Bishoprics! The opposition did not feel sufficient confidence in all its members to meet this threat with a bold front. And it was certain that the fear of this menace had much effect in producing the upshot which followed.

The amendments which had been proposed to the formula, nearly one hundred in number, were all disposed of on the Monday, the 11th, and Wednesday, the 13th—that is to say, the proposers of them simply renounced their right to support them—and the formula was put to the vote—not to the ultimate public vote, it will be understood, but the vote of the Assembly in congregation—on the 13th. The result was as follows: PLACET, 451.—NON PLACET, 88.—*Juxta modum* (*i.e.*, conditionally—in such a case a mere timid mode of saying "Non placet"), 62, among whom were three Cardinals.—Absent, 91, among whom was Antonelli. (About thirty of these were either ill, or had previously left Rome.)

The remaining sixty consisted evidently of intentional abstentions. The absence of the Secretary of State was thought to indicate that he was not yet certain what would be the issue.

And there were many persons who, after the vote which has just been recorded, still doubted whether the Jesuitising party would even now succeed in carrying out their programme. The doubt, however, did not last long. When the Assembly separated on the 13th, the Legate managers contented themselves with saying that the votes *juxta modum* would receive due consideration, and a special report be presented respecting them at the next Congregation.

It was, however, intimated to the leaders of the opposition that same evening that it was the intention of the Vatican to proceed with its purposes irrespectively of the votes just given, and to name the day for public proclamation of the dogma as soon as possible. The opposition thereupon held a meeting on the Thursday, the 14th, and again on Friday, the 15th, to decide upon the line of conduct they should adopt under these very grave circumstances. It was determined that a committee should be appointed to present themselves personally before the Pope, in the name of the whole of the dissenting members,

and implore him to suspend the definition of the dogma, laying before him the necessity which would compel them, if their appeal were disregarded, to repeat to their own great sorrow at the public session before the Universal Church, and in the face of the world, the *Non placet*, which they had spoken in the private Congregation.

The Committee was composed of the Cardinal Schwartzenberg, the Archbishop of Paris, the Archbishop of Lyons, the Archbishop of Milan, and the Archbishop of Halifax.

These prelates did their utmost to move the Holy Father. They spoke much of the danger to the Church which would infallibly arise from schism; they implored him with the most earnest entreaties to pause; they pointed out to him that they could count with certainty upon a hundred and twenty votes, and left to his consideration the effect that would be produced by promulgating a dogma by an authority, the whole force of which depends upon the universality of its consent, while such a minority were proclaiming aloud their dissent.

In reply to these urgent remonstrances and entreaties the Pope gave evasive and uncertain answers. He was not sufficiently informed on the

subject. He would confer with the Legates on the point. He would consider all that they had represented to him.

This was on the Friday. On Saturday, the 16th, another Congregation was held, in which an amendment to the formula was proposed by the dominant party; and to the stupefaction of the minority, this was found to consist in an intensification of the proposition laid down in the formula as presented on the 13th! It was proposed to add to the formula the words, "*Ideoque ejusmodi Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese absque consensu Ecclesiæ irreformabiles esse.*" "So that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are in themselves irreversible, and without the consent of the Church."

But the unblushing audacity of so bold and crude an assertion as this was too much even for the sufficiently unscrupulous majority. And the words were changed to "*ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiæ irreformabiles esse*"—"are in themselves, but not by the consent of the Church, irreversible."

The difference is an infinitesimal one, but it sufficed for the majority; and the additional claim was added to the formula. A further addition was added at the last moment, despite the protestations

and endeavours of the minority to escape from it, which was thus worded : "*Si quis autem hinc nostræ definioni contradicere, quod Deus avertat, præsumpserit, anathema sit.*" "But if any one shall presume, which God forbid! to contradict this our definition, let him be anathematised."

Before the Congregation of the 16th separated, the Legates announced that the Council was not to be considered prorogued; that the Holy Father merely granted them a vacation for the summer months, after which they would again be invited to the Vatican to continue their labours.

This was the work of the Congregation of Saturday, the 16th. And the solemn public sitting of the Council at which the dogma was to be promulgated was fixed for Monday, the 18th. During the hours which remained between the close of the Congregation on Saturday and the opening of the session on Monday, the opposition continued by every possible means, by written supplications, by *vivâ voce* representations, to avert the result, or at least obtain some delay. Their efforts were, as surely they must have known, wholly fruitless! A portion of the opposition limited their efforts to obtaining the suppression of the last phrase in which the anathema is

launched against dissidents. But it was all unavailing.

On the Sunday, the 17th, the members of the opposition held a last meeting, at which it was debated yet once again whether they should appear at the public sitting and utter their solemn "Non placet," or whether they should protest and leave Rome. The latter opinion was adopted! But before it was finally determined on, the Archbishop of Vienna went yet once again on that Sunday afternoon to the Pope, to make one final appeal, and failing, to inform him of the line of conduct which the dissentient Bishops had determined to adopt. Upon this occasion the manner and behaviour of his Holiness was altogether changed from what it had been, when the last committee waited on him. He received the Archbishop with a short and sharp refusal to hear him, and added observations of so little kindly a sort, that on the return of this last messenger of conciliation, the dissentients signed their protest in all haste, and made all the speed they could to leave Rome, "from fear," says Pomponio Leto, who unquestionably knew what he was talking about, "that the victorious party might proceed to personal violence, or that when the dogma

was once promulgated, they might find themselves in the hard alternative of being compelled to submit or to abandon their sees; perhaps even — who knows ?—to quit the bosom of the Church altogether —a fear to which the addition of the "anathema" to the formula lent but too much countenance."

On that Sunday evening a protest was signed by sixty-three Bishops, all of them the occupants of sees with cure of souls, and the majority of them holding the most illustrious sees in Christendom. And most of them were before morning beyond the frontiers, fortunately not distant, of the territory of the Holy Father!

On the fated 18th of July, therefore, there was nothing further to impede the accomplishment of the purpose of the Holy Father and the Jesuitising portion of the Church. The historians of the Council —men little given ordinarily to "graphic" writing or sensational modes of thought—tell of the black skies, and of the tremendous thunderstorm, which broke over the Eternal City, while the work of the Council was being consummated at this last sitting on the 18th of July. It shows at least how deeply their minds were moved by the event! Of the 692 members of which the Council was composed, there

were present in the hall on that day 535. And 533 pronounced the "Placet" which was required of them. Two only, the Bishop of Caiazzo, in the Neapolitan territory, and the Bishop of Little Rock, in Arkansas, said in reply to the roll-call, "Non placet." The latter was the last name called in the roll, and his strong "Non placet," the last word of all the debate heard in that hall, sounded as it rung beneath the vaults as the condemnation of the Council!

Those who signed the protest ought unquestionably to have done as those two did! No doubt many and valid excuses are to be found in the circumstances of the case for the line which, upon the whole, they thought it best to adopt, but it would have been better had they judged otherwise. Nor, considering the nature of the forces and persons against whom they had to struggle, can it be considered at all certain that the Vatican and its party would have at the last minute proceeded to the promulgation of the dogma in the face of the "Non placet" of so numerous and such a body of dissentients. As it was, they made the path of their adversaries plain before them!

And if only they could have looked forward but

a little! if only they could have protracted matters for about sixty more days or so! if only they could have reached the quickly-coming 20th of September—the Infallibility would never have been promulgated!

As it was, the body of protesters and seceders gave a notable example to many whose opinions were equally adverse to the dogma, but whose firmness was not equal to theirs! There were many conversions at the last hour. Among others Cardinal Guidi, whose strong speech against the dogma had made such a sensation, bowed his head, and uttered his "Placet!" It was said that the Pope looked him full in the face when his name was called and he had to give his vote, and muttered "Buon' uomo" when he heard him thus speak what he knew to be against his conscience! But the mind of Pius the Ninth is above all else one of those in which allegiance to himself is a merit paramount, and sufficient to eclipse all other faults or virtues.

The Archbishops of Pisa, Rheims, Avignon, and Salzburg were among the converts of the last hour.

There is one other name and one other fact that

must be placed on record before this necessarily very imperfect sketch of the story of the Council is brought to a conclusion. There are a great many persons in more than one country of Europe who would do well to remember the fact in conjunction with the name.

On the day of the promulgation of the dogma, the Archbishop of Westminster received a present of the portrait of Bellarmine, with the following inscription :

HENRICO EDVARDO MANNING

ARCHIEP. WESTMONAST.

SODALES SOC. JESU

COLLEGII CIVILTATIS CATHOLICÆ

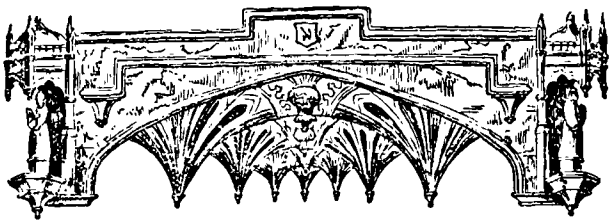
SESSIONIS IV CONCILII VATICANI

MNEMOSYNON. *

* To Henry Edward Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, the members of the Society of Jesus, of the Association of the Civiltà Cattolica, this memorial of the fourth session of the Vatican Council.

BOOK V.

PIUS THE NINTH AS A PRIVATE BISHOP.



CHAPTER I.

THE MISFORTUNE OF FRANCE WAS ITALY'S OPPORTUNITY.—JULES FAVRE AND THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT.—VICTOR EMMANUEL'S LETTER TO THE POPE.—MINGHETTI'S REPORT FROM VIENNA.—REPLY OF THE BAVARIAN GOVERNMENT.—REPLY FROM BADEN.—FROM ENGLAND.—FROM BELGIUM.—QUESTION OF CATHOLIC INTERVENTION.—SPIRITUAL LIBERTY OF THE PONTIFF.—POPE'S LETTER TO GENERAL KANZLER.—COUNT ARNIM'S INTERCESSION.—ENTRY OF THE ITALIAN TROOPS INTO ROME.—STRUGGLE AT THE BREACH.—TERMS OF CAPITULATION.—PLEBISCITE.—DECREE OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT.—CIRCULAR TO REPRESENTATIVES AT FOREIGN COURTS.—LAW OF THE GUARANTEES.—VANITY OF IT.—HOLY SEE REJECTS AN INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE.—THE POPE IN HIS NEW CHARACTER.—APPLICATION TO AUSTRIA, AND AUSTRIAN REPLY.

In those scorching July days, when the Roman climate was contributing perhaps even more remarkably than ever before to the working out of the history of the Papacy, both the temporal and the spiritual fortunes of Pius the Ninth and his Church were being hurried forward with extraordinary

rapidity on the path of this destined evolution. Of course it was clear enough to everybody, to the friends of the Vatican, to those of Victor Emmanuel, and to the French Government equally, that the former depended, at all events for the nonce, on the fortune of the war between Germany and France. The Church, amid the storms which had overtaken her, had no earthly support to hope save that of her eldest son. That her eldest son's object in supporting her was to make her serve as the means of preventing the unification of Italy, she of course perfectly well understood. But the support tendered was none the less, rather the more, valuable on that account, in that the continuance of it was the more assured.

But now it seemed likely that France would no longer be able to give support to anybody or anything! Scarcely could the progress of the war have been watched in Paris itself with more breathless anxiety and interest than in Rome! The Moses of the Vatican held up his hands, we may be very sure, unweariedly! But his prayers were unavailing; and the events which were darkening the horizon of the temporal power hurried on to the moment of total eclipse.

All round the horizon the helmsman of St. Peter's barque looked, and there was no hope anywhere. The last French troop which had lingered at Civita Vecchia left it on the 19th of August. On the 21st and the 24th the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate sitting at Florence urged the Italian Ministry to "solve the Roman question in accordance with the national aspirations." On the 29th the Italian Foreign Minister desired the Cavaliere Nigra, the Italian Minister at Paris, to call the attention of the French Government to the fact that circumstances were very "grave" in Italy, and in short, that the time had come when it was impossible any longer for the Italian Government to hold off from taking possession of the remaining shred of pontifical territory and of Rome. It seems almost cruel to have "called the attention" of the rulers of France to anything at that moment. It was like compelling a man to look into the accounts of his estate when he is *in extremis*. Four days later Sedan was fought, and all was over! And on the 8th of September poor Jules Favre said to the Italian representative, in reply to further intimations as to the course the Italian Government was about to take: "The Convention of the 15th of September is dead

enough. Nevertheless I will not *declare* it to be at an end. If France was victorious and prosperous I would willingly yield to your wish." (*Credat Judæus Apella!* If France had been victorious, France would unquestionably never have quitted Rome!) "But my country is conquered! And I am too unhappy to have the courage to inflict pain on a venerable old man who is himself in misfortune. I will not therefore formally declare the Convention of the 15th of September to be at an end. But neither will I demand the execution of it. I have neither the power nor the wish to prevent anything. I think with you that if you do not go to Rome, Rome will fall into the power of dangerous agitators. I shall prefer to see you there. But it must be perfectly understood that France gives you no consent, and that you accomplish this enterprise on your own proper and unique responsibility." In a word, the misfortune of France was Italy's opportunity. Nobody in Europe could possibly be unaware of that; and nobody was disposed to move a finger to prevent her from using her opportunity. On the 7th, Visconti Venosta, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed all the Powers by circular of the purpose of the Italian Government to

take possession of Rome and its territory: and on the 8th, Count Ponza di S. Martino carried an autograph letter from Victor Emmanuel to the Pope, informing his Holiness that the King found himself under the necessity of occupying Rome in the interest of the Holy Father's own safety and the preservation of order. Nor was this in the smallest degree a hypocritical manner of putting the fact. For it is beyond all question, that if the Government of the King of Italy had held aloof, and had simply let the forces in action take their course, there would have ensued a revolution at Rome and a downfall of the Pope of a very different kind and degree from that which the Pontiff suffered at the hands of the Italian Government. Nor would the Pope or his friends attempt to deny this. But they would say: "You ought truly to have come and put down revolution and preserved order, but you ought to have done so for us and not for yourselves."

On the 10th, Minghetti, resident Minister representing the Italian Government at Vienna, wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs: "It is the earnest wish of the Government that our occupation of the territory and city of Rome should, if possible, take

place without conflict or the shedding of blood, and that all regards may be paid to the Pope, so that he may be able to remain in his See. The Austro-Hungarian Government has no intention of putting any obstacle in the way of our action as regards the pontifical territory and Rome." The Minister resident at Munich wrote on the same day to the effect that the Bavarian Government desired the reconciliation of the Holy Father with Italy; but that if the Italian Government thought proper to proceed to occupy Rome, the Bavarian Government would adhere to its declared purpose of not intervening in Italian affairs. The Grand Ducal Minister at Baden at the same time expresses himself as recognising the right of the Italian Government to act freely with reference to the requirements of its own needs in the present circumstances. England did not feel herself called upon to interfere even by an observation. The Italian Minister at London writes to his Government on the 13th that, "having mentioned in his conversation with Lord Granville the fact of the occupation of the papal territory by the Italian troops, his lordship did not express any opinion, and less still any objection, on the subject." The Belgian Government, or the Italian Minister at

that Court, writing on the 12th—recognises that the temporal power is not necessary to the Holy Father's discharge of his functions towards the world, but points out that "it is necessary at all cost to find some combination which shall permit him to exercise his spiritual functions with full and entire liberty of action, and further, that such a combination should receive the collective guarantee of the great Catholic Powers."

Here the Belgian Government, by the mouth of Mons^r. Anethan, touched a burning question of which the world has not yet heard the last. As to the necessity for the guarantee of the Powers, which he speaks of, it must be presumed that the statesmen who ruled the other Catholic Powers did not agree with him in this respect, for no such guarantee was, so far as is known, asked for by the Apostolic See, and certainly none such was given. Nevertheless, this question of liberty for the exercise of the spiritual functions of the Papacy seems likely to occasion a greater degree of trouble in Europe than the simplicity of the principles which ought to regulate it would seem to justify. It would be desirable that any person, statesman or other, seeking to form a clear opinion on the subject, should

begin by asking himself what exactly he means by "spiritual power?" And surely the asking of such a question would very shortly lead the asker to the admission of the fact that the only possible or conceivable spiritual power which any human being can exercise must consist in persuading some other human being to think, or feel, or believe something, or in acting on such persuasion already achieved. Now, the liberty of exercising this spiritual power is assured to every citizen of every free government (certainly to every citizen of the Kingdom of Italy), within certain limits, and has never been, and can never be, granted to any man beyond those limits. No civil government in the world can permit, or has permitted, any man to use an eloquent tongue or a powerful pen in persuading others to break the law. If attempts to do so have been disregarded, it has been because rulers have considered the persons making the attempt to be incapable of exercising any spiritual power. Nor, to come down to the naked truth, which will most assuredly have to be recognised sooner or later, will it be possible that any spiritual liberty greater than that so guaranteed to all should be allowed to the Pope. Perfect freedom of communication with all the agents by whose

means he exercises this spiritual power, is, of course, assured to him by the same means and within the same limits. But, once for all, the pretensions which Catholic ecclesiastics in all countries have put forward so loudly, which some Catholic Governments have in a hesitating, half-hearted sort of way, shown some disposition to put forward, and which the Italian Government has not as yet felt itself strong enough to deny absolutely with that firmness with which it will be inevitably necessary to deny it—pretensions to the effect that, whereas certain other countries contain vast numbers of Catholics among their subjects, and whereas all these Catholics deem it essential to their religious interests that the Pope should enjoy certain liberties or prerogatives beyond such as are conceded to any other subject, therefore the Governments of the countries in which such Catholic populations live, have some more or less clearly defined right to demand of the Italian Government that the Pope should have some status in Italy different from that of any other subject—all such pretensions, I say, will have to be utterly and entirely disallowed. Doubtless these considerations may be made use of by the Pontiff as an argument that the only solution of the inherent difficulties of

the case is that he should be an independent sovereign *somewhere*. It may be so, say the Italians, but nothing imposes on *us* the duty or the necessity of furnishing you with the required kingdom. We cannot spare Rome. It is in nowise incumbent upon us to care for the religious necessities of the inhabitants of other countries, and we decline to supply the Pope with a sovereignty for their behoof here!

There are indications that it may be necessary for the Italian Government to assume the ground here indicated with firmness. But it is certain that, at the moment which must surely have seemed the most proper time for the formal putting forward of any such demands, no one of the Governments of Europe made any attempt of the kind, nor did any other than Belgium hazard a suggestion on the subject so outspoken as that of Mons^r. Anethan.

At the present day (June, 1877) it is impossible to avoid being struck by the light which the history of the Vatican from that day to this, and especially that of the last few months, has thrown upon the theory and the demand put forward by the Belgian Minister. It does not seem to have been sufficiently noted at the time, or, indeed, subsequently, that Mons^r. Anethan was demanding for the Pope a greater

degree of liberty of action than he has ever enjoyed at all events for the last three hundred years! What would Louis XIV.—what would Bossuet have said to such a demand? When has the Pope been allowed full and entire liberty for the exercise of his spiritual functions; that is, the free use of his powers of authority and persuasion over the subjects of a sovereign State? But this is, in fact, what he has been enjoying and very unrestrictedly using under the *régime* made for him by the legislation of the Italian Parliament. No demand to such an effect as that suggested by Mons^r. Anethan was made by any of the European Powers, but Italy unasked provided it for the Pontiff. If Pius the Ninth had continued to be a temporal sovereign, with a kingdom of his own, is it conceivable that he could have ventured on such utterances as he has on repeated occasions indulged in lately? A temporal sovereign is exposed to attack by the same secular means as those which can be brought to bear on every other government. As things are at present, the Pope is absolutely safe from any such modes of dealing with him. He has the inestimable advantage of being *Vox et præterea nihil!* And those to whom that voice is a source of infinite danger and

calamity have the immense disadvantage which must ever attend those who have to contend against spiritual with material power, *plus* the difficulty arising from the engagements which Italy has assumed towards the Papacy!

Returning, however, to the course of events, as they developed themselves at that critical moment of the Pontiff's deposition from his temporal throne, the Holy Father wrote, on the 19th of that eventful September, as follows to General Kanzler, the commander-in-chief of his forces:

"Now that the great sacrilege and most enormous injustice is about to be consummated, I feel the desire to thank you, General, for your willingness to consecrate yourself to the defence of this metropolis. As regards the duration of the defence, it ought to consist merely in a protest sufficient to give evidence of the exercise of violence, and nothing more; that is to say, to open negotiations for the giving up of the city as soon as ever a breach shall have been effected."

Count Arnim, then resident at Rome as representative of Prussia, endeavoured in vain to prevail on the Pontifical Government to abandon the idea of offering any opposition to the entrance of the Italian

troops, and on that same day, the 19th of September, the 4th division of the Italian army surrounded all that part of the city which lies on the left bank of the Tiber, and at ten the next morning the famous entry of the Italian troops at the breach at Porta Pia, after a short and perfunctory resistance on the part of the papal troops, took place.

In the short struggle, which, in accordance with the directions which the Pope had given to General Kanzler, was maintained no longer than was sufficient to show to all the world that the occupation of Rome by the Italian troops was accomplished by violence, eighteen private soldiers and three officers were killed, and a hundred and twelve soldiers and five officers wounded.

The terms of capitulation were as follows :

"The City of Rome, with the exception of that part of it which forms the Leonine City (the part on the right bank of the Tiber, including Castel St. Angelo, the Vatican, and St. Peter's), together with its armament, banners, etc., is given up to the troops of H.M. the King of Italy. The garrison goes out with the honours of war. The foreign troops are to be disbanded and sent to their own countries. The

native troops to be handed over without their arms, retaining their present pay."

On the 1st of October, the votes of the population of Rome were taken on the question whether they would become the subjects of Victor Emmanuel, or remain subjected to the Pope. The next morning the result was published at the Capitol as follows: For the King, 40,785; for the Pope, 46! The numbers indicate decisively enough the force of the stream and the rush that was carrying men's minds away, but it indicates nothing else! There never has been, in these modern Vox-populi-vox-Dei days, a *plébiscite*, the attendant circumstances of which have not shown the entire proceeding to be a farce! And the voting of the Italian people was assuredly no exception to the rule!

The "voting" of the Cabinets of Europe was yet more unanimous. They all without exception felicitated the King of Italy on the step he had taken, that of Paris being the most effusive of them all!

On the 9th of October, the Italian Government published a decree in these terms: "Rome and the Roman provinces form a part of the Kingdom of Italy. The Supreme Pontiff preserves the dignity,

the inviolability, and all the personal prerogatives of a Sovereign."

On the 18th of the same month the Foreign Minister, Visconti Venosta, sent a circular to the Italian representatives at the different Courts, in which he says: "Our first duty in making Rome the capital of Italy is to declare that the Catholic world will not be menaced in its religious beliefs by the fact of the achievement of our unity. The great situation which personally belongs to the Holy Father, his character of Sovereign, his pre-eminence over other Catholic princes, the civil list which belongs to him, will be amply guaranteed to him. His palaces and residences will have the privilege of extra-territoriality."

And then came "the law of the guarantees," and all the rest of the floods of talk, and promises, and assurances, none of which served in any degree to console, satisfy, or reassure the Pontiff, reasonably enough. Every word that he says in pointing out that the "guarantees" offered him are no guarantees at all is abundantly true! Law of guarantees! Why, a vote of the Chamber can unmake it as a vote hath made! What can a parliamentary Government guarantee? Just as much as, and no

more than, an infallible Pope, soon to be succeeded by an equally infallible successor, who is as competent to undo as he is to do! The Pope and his advisers were right enough in their utter refusal to accept the guarantee law as any guarantee at all; but they perhaps hardly considered how soon their adversaries might remind them of all the arguments they used to prove that such guarantees might be, and were likely to be, overruled, set aside, and disregarded, if not by the same men who voted them when in a different mind, at all events by the parliamentary generation which was to follow them!

The Pope and his counsellors were equally determined not to stoop to the acceptance of even such somewhat greater security of guarantee as might have been assured to them by giving to the law in question the character of an international fact. On the 4th of January, 1871, the Minister representing the French Government at Rome wrote to M. Jules Favre that Cardinal Antonelli replied to the offers of the Powers to concert together for the demanding from the Italian Government some *minimum* of guarantee for the Holy See to the effect that "the Holy Father could not ask for anything other than

reintegration in his rights, or even wish that the Powers should solicit concessions, which they would necessarily have to pay for by a more or less formal recognition of a state of things against which the Holy See has protested and will continue to protest."

Meanwhile the Holy Father lost not an instant in assuming the attitude and "get up" which he deemed adapted for the new part he had to play before the public of Europe. The scene-shifters had barely had time to run the new decorations into their places before the Pontiff came out from behind the scenes in the character of the unfortunate prisoner, putting his hand through the gratings of his prison window, with "Pity the sorrows of a poor old man!" His first movements in his new character were not successful, however. On the 16th of that October the Italian Minister at Vienna wrote to his Government to say that Cardinal Antonelli had asked Count Trautmansdorff, then Austrian Foreign Minister, whether he would so far pity the sorrows of a poor old man as to intercede with the Italian Government to obtain permission for the Holy Father to pass across the Italian territory so as to get out of Rome? and telling how the Austrian Government in reply

had winked at the Holy Father and told him that he was "a jolly old humbug!"—at least I take that to be the correct translation into the vernacular of the Austrian Minister's answer to the effect that he imagined that the Italian Government needed no intercession to induce it to leave to the Holy Father full liberty of movement, but that the advice which he should permit himself to offer with all possible respect to the Holy Father, would be that he should stay where he was.

CHAPTER II.

THE END OF THE POPE'S CIVIL SOVEREIGNTY.—THE COMING OF THE KING TO ROME.—POPE'S APPEAL TO THE POWERS.—ADDRESS BY THE POPE TO THE FRENCH MINISTER, 26TH OF APRIL, 1871.—IMPOSSIBILITY OF SATISFYING THE PAPAL DEMANDS.—THE POPE NEVER ENJOYED FULL SPIRITUAL LIBERTY AT ANY TIME.—NOR CAN HE EVER BE PERMITTED TO DO SO.—SUSPENSION OF THE SITTINGS OF THE COUNCIL.—CIRCULAR OF THE ITALIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—THE COUNCIL COULD HAVE MET IN PERFECT FREEDOM.—COMEDY OF THE POPE'S IMPRISONMENT.

So now "the great sacrilege was consummated!" The patient work of fifteen centuries was all undone, and the Pope was put back again to where he was before Constantine "fece il primo ricco padre!"

Of course the very marks of respect and deference with which the Italian Government and the statesmen of other countries sought to gild the pill, which they had all made up their minds that the Pope

must be forced to swallow, had to the mind of the Holy Father all the bitterness of covert irony. The King came to Rome on the last day of the year, taking occasion of this his first visit to his new capital from his desire to visit and assist those who were suffering from the effects of the recent inundation of the Tiber. And no sooner had he arrived than he wrote to his Holiness in the most obsequious terms, telling him the nature of his visit and its motive. Of course the letter seemed like an insult to the Pontiff! It would have seemed worse to come and take no notice of him! It was one of those cases in which it was impossible to do right, or satisfy the person you had to deal with. Flog high, flog low, the Holy Father still cried out against the operation!

He still seems to have retained a hope that the last outrage and indignity of establishing the capital and the Government of the usurpers under his nose in his own Rome might be spared him. He told the representatives of the Catholic Powers, as we learn from a despatch from Count d'Harcourt to M. Jules Favre—28th February, 1871—that he comprehended the impossibility of an armed intervention in his favour; but he did hope that the

Governments would not sanction the daily increasing pretensions of the Court of Florence, and would not authorise their representatives accredited to King Victor Emmanuel to follow him to Rome; and trusted that they would cause the Italian Government to comprehend that it was doing wrong to transport the capital to Rome.

But it was all no use! Nobody would stir a finger to help the Holy Father in his distress! And there appears to have been a moment when his hopes and demands were limited to more humble proportions, than has, as it should seem, subsequently been the case. On the 26th of April in that year, 1871, addressing M. d'Harcourt, the French Minister accredited to the Vatican, he said:

"I am sensible to the good wishes you transmit to me. It is the interest of all nations that the condition of Rome should not remain such as it is at present. You have troubles of your own, which do not leave to you liberty of action. I ask no more than ought to be asked. I desire only that your Government should counsel the Italian Cabinet to be prudent, and should warn it to proceed cautiously, and not adopt precipitate measures, or enter on paths which may easily become dangerous. They want at

all hazards to establish themselves definitely at Rome; and there are a thousand reasons why Rome can never become their capital. But the future will be as it may please God. Sovereignty is not to be sought for in such times as the present. I know that better than any other, be he who he may. All that I desire is some corner of earth where I may be supreme. Not that I would refuse the proffer, if the offer of restoring to me my States were made to me; but as long as I have not such a corner of earth, I cannot exercise my spiritual functions in all their completeness."

But the main difficulty and objection to furnishing him with any such corner of earth, consists in the fact that none of the Governments of the world would be content to allow him to exercise his spiritual power in all its completeness. When was he ever allowed to do so? The possession of his territory as an Italian Sovereign did not help him much in the matter. Louis the Fourteenth—pious Catholic as he was—did not allow him so much liberty for the exercise of his spiritual power as the present Italian Government does! The fact is, that a human being, whom several millions of other human beings persist in believing to be an infallible

teacher in faith and morals, is a most portentous and disastrous phenomenon, pregnant with danger to all human society. And it is wholly impossible and out of the question that such a person should be allowed the unlimited exercise of his spiritual power! No civil power has ever done so; none will ever do so! If the Pope had the corner of earth he told the French Minister was all he asked, he might exercise his supreme liberty by speaking, writing, and printing what he pleased. But does anybody imagine that other States would allow his words to have any such publicity as might be deemed dangerous within their own borders?

The true answer, therefore, to the complaints of the Pontiff that the loss of the temporal power involves the loss of his liberty of spiritual action, is that his temporal power never yet secured to him any such liberty; that no temporal dominion would secure it to him now, short of a despotism co-extensive with Catholicism; that it never was, never will be, and never can be conceded to him. It is mere shuffling and equivocating to attempt to maintain that the Pope, as it is, has liberty to exercise his spiritual power in its entirety. He has no such power—and it cannot be permitted to him!

And the principal occupation of his leisure (so far as the outside world may presume to penetrate the secrets of his "prison-house") has consisted in proving to the world how totally impossible it is that he should be entrusted with any such liberty. One of his first acts was the suspension of the Council, which had been told that it was to meet again this autumn. On the 20th of October an Apostolic letter contained the following announcement: "The sacrilegious invasion of this holy city, and of the remnant of the provinces of our temporal dominion, perpetrated against all law, and with incredible audacity and perfidy, have violated the indefeasible rights of our civil principality and of the Apostolic See, and have placed us, by the permission of God for His inscrutable reasons, in such a position that we are absolutely subjected to another and a hostile Power. In which deplorable state of things, seeing that we are impeded in the free exercise of our authority, and that the Fathers of the Vatican Council could not enjoy the liberty, security, and tranquillity necessary for treating in conjunction with us the affairs of the Church . . . we suspend the said Council until a more opportune and fitting time to be named by his Apostolic See."

To this manifesto the Foreign Minister, Visconti Venosta, replied by a circular addressed to all the Italian representatives at foreign Courts, in order that they might bring it under the notice of the respective Governments to which they were accredited, to the following effect :

"The Pontifical Bull by which his Holiness has announced the suspension of the sittings of the Council alleges, as the cause of that suspension, the want of liberty which the Council would have to suffer in consequence of the new order of things established at Rome. It is my duty to declare that there is nothing to justify these fears. It is evident that the Holy Father is free to call together the Council at St. Peter's or in any other church of Rome or Italy."

He should have added that it was equally evident that the Council might, when so called together, have deliberated in perfect freedom, without the smallest attempt on the part of any human being to disturb, influence, or meddle with them or their deliberations in any way. And I am afraid that it is beyond the power of the utmost effort

that charity can make, to suppose that the Pope and his advisers were not quite as well aware of that fact as every one else was! It was the Holy Father's first public appearance in his new part in the great comedy which has been in the course of representation before Europe from that time to the present—a period of about seven years!

All that time the comedy has been played with persistent and admirable constancy and patience! All the gorgeous and impressive ceremonials in the church of St. Peter and the Sistine chapel, in which the Holy Father used to take part, are discontinued. The Pontiff cannot perform his part in them because he is a prisoner! The Cardinals cannot show themselves in the streets of Rome because the Pope is a prisoner; and besides it is clear that they would of course be insulted, if not murdered, were they seen by the people! In remote parts of Europe, where distance could lend enchantment to the view, straws from the litter on which the Holy Father had slept in his prison cell have been sold as precious relics! And no allocution has contained any word calculated to tranquillise the hearts of the faithful on this score! In a word, by himself, by all about him, and by thousands of tongues and pens in every part

of Europe, this comedy has been persistently played for the last six years and more; and the entire story of the remaining years of the life of the Pontff has nothing further to tell save his consistent and admirable playing of it!

CHAPTER III.

PUBLISHED DISCOURSES OF THE POPE.—SOME SPECIMENS OF THEM.—THE POPE'S DAILY LIFE.—SECRETARY.—HEADS OF CONGREGATIONS.—FOREIGN AMBASSADORS.—BISHOPS.—PRIVATE PERSONS.—MODE OF RECEIVING PRIVATE PERSONS.—POPE'S ROYAL MEMORY.—THE POPE'S WALK.—HIS GARDEN SEAT.—HIS AVIARY.—DINNER.—HIS READING OF THE NEWSPAPERS.—HIS EVENING.—THE POPE A BAD SLEEPER.—UNAFFECTED BY THE DEATH OF ANTONELLI, AND EVEN BY THAT OF HIS OLD CAT.—UNLIKE POPE PAUL THE THIRD IN THIS RESPECT.

FROM the 5th of January, 1871, to the 13th of May, 1875, the Pontiff pronounced four hundred and eleven discourses, which have been published in three octavo volumes, and occupy between thirteen and fourteen hundred octavo pages. This would give an average of nearly two discourses every week, and many of them are of considerable length. It cannot in truth be said that the prison life of the incarcerated Pope

has been an idle one. And these discourses represent but a small portion of his activity.

It cannot, indeed, be said that the preparation or delivery of these discourses required or indicate either the possession or the exercise of any notable mental powers. They consist of little more than a slightly varied repetition of the same thing over and over again. The deplorable condition to which the Church has by God's anger, roused on account of some altogether inscrutable causes, been reduced—the consequent advance and increase of wickedness in the world, especially here in Rome—the never-ceasing efforts of "the revolution" (by which is meant indistinctly the Italian Government, modern civilisation and freethought generally) to destroy Catholicism—the constant insults offered to religion and to the Supreme Pontiff—the inability for the due discharge of his religious functions to which he has been reduced by his imprisonment—and his hope for a speedy recovery of the Church from her eclipse, together with his absolute certainty of such a recovery in God's good time; such is the constant subject-matter of his discourses, delivered often, specially to religious persons of his own Church, very much in the ordinary form and

manner of a very commonplace Roman Catholic preacher.

The classes of persons to whom these discourses have been delivered were exceedingly various: "To the new Archbishops;" "To a hundred Roman girls bringing a carpet as a gift;" "To a party of English Catholics;" "To the women of certain Roman parishes;" "To a deputation of Roman young men;" "To the parish priests of Rome;" "To a deputation from the diocese of Tarragona;" "To a deputation of women from Gorizia;" "To a great number of foreigners;" "To French, to English, to Germans, to Spaniards, to Catholics, to heretics (almost exclusively English and Americans), to deputations of every imaginable kind, to pilgrims from every part of the world!" And occasionally some few words and phrases may generally be found which are or may be supposed to be especially adapted to the occasion in hand. But the main subject of the Holy Father's eloquence is the same.

To a large number of ladies—chiefly foreigners—who waited on him on the 9th of March, 1871; he said: "You are come to see him whom they call the prisoner of the Vatican! And truly I am such! Physically speaking I could go out doubtless. But

morally I could not do so* without seeing a spectacle of misery, scandal, and profound affliction, such as is presented by the city so changed for the worse as it now is. Every step, every glance would overcome me! For this reason I will never go out hence until God puts an end to this bitter trial to which He has seen fit to subject me. Your prayers will hasten that day," etc. On the 17th of December, 1871, speaking to the Romans of the parish of *Santa Maria in Portico*, he said: "I am not John the Baptist, but I also may say of myself what he said of himself: 'EGO SUM VOX.' If he was a voice crying in the wilderness, if he said, '*Ego vox clamantis in deserto*,' I am a voice that cries from the Vatican. *Ego vox clamantis de Vaticano!*"

Often his talk is little better than mere nonsense, as in the following specimen. It occurs in a discourse addressed to certain "Daughters of Mary" from a certain parish in Rome. Telling them to be active in prayer and good works, so as not to merit the reproach of standing idly gazing up to heaven, he continues—the thought evidently suggested

* Here, as frequently, the Holy Father's mode of expression is faulty. He means to say, "Morally, I cannot go out; for if I did go out, I should see," etc., etc.

merely by the words he had just uttered: "Certainly I should not say to certain people, 'Why stand ye looking up into heaven?' I should say rather, 'Why do ye look down upon the earth?' Those too who have the public affairs in their hands, those who govern, look down upon the earth. Or rather I would say better, the world has always been so; it has always looked down upon earth. Now, these men do not simply look down on earth, but truly they look into the depth under the earth. I tell you that you ought to look up to heaven, and to work for heaven. All the rest has nothing to do with our eternal salvation."

But these discourses, as I have said, are the result of but a small part of the activity of the Holy Father's life, since he has been playing at being a prisoner in the Vatican. And the following brief account of one of the Holy Father's days will be accepted as indicating a very extraordinary amount of activity and capacity for work in an old man between eighty and ninety years of age.

He gets up,* whether in summer or in winter, at

* The following account is mainly taken from a letter sent by the present writer to the *Standard*. He had the means at the time of knowing the statements contained in it to be correct, and thinks, therefore, that he cannot do better than reproduce it.

six, and immediately "celebrates," that is to say, performs a mass, as every Roman Catholic priest, whether beneficed or not beneficed, is bound to do every day of his life, and to do fasting. Immediately after having celebrated, the Pope hears a mass; and then he goes to his breakfast—a simple cup of coffee and a morsel of bread. Directly after breakfast the Secretary of State—for so many years Antonelli, now his successor Cardinal Simeoni—comes to him for the transaction of business; and there is always plenty in hand to be transacted. Then, as soon as the Secretary leaves him, the heads of the different Congregations wait on him. These are Cardinals presiding each over one of the great variety of "Congregations," or permanent commissions, which the Apostolic Court has established for the supervision of different departments of the business of the Universal Church. There is the Congregation of the Inquisition, the Congregation of Consistories, the Congregation of Episcopal Residences, the Congregation of the Condition of the Regular Clergy, the Congregation of Ecclesiastical Immunities, the Congregation of the College de Propaganda Fide, the Congregation for the Affairs of the Eastern Church, the Congregation of Rites and

Ceremonies, the Congregation of Indulgences and Sacred Relics, of the Fabric of St. Peter's, of the Holy House of Loreto, and many others. Of course the Cardinals presiding over all these Congregations do not need to have interviews with the Holy Father every day. But there is no day on which some one or other, and probably several of them, have some business which needs to be attended to.

After the Presidents of the Congregations such of the Foreign Ambassadors as may desire to see the Holy Father are introduced. And it is rarely the case that some one or more of these does not occupy the Pope's attention for some portion of the morning. After the Ambassadors, any Bishops who may have come to Rome on business which requires an interview with the Pontiff are admitted; and of such visitors, if only for purposes of compliment, there are always many. Then come the audiences of people of all sorts, who wish to see and pay their respects to the Pope. These are of the most varied description. Sometimes there will be a "pilgrimage" to be received; sometimes a deputation from some body associated for some pietistic purpose; an association of schoolgirls in Normandy for the special "cultus" of the Sacred Heart; young

men from the Tyrol, or old women from Belgium banded together to gather Peter's pence for the Holy Father in his dungeon; sometimes a body of the faithful of both sexes; often a mixed company of Catholics and heretics, gentlemen and ladies, English, German, French, Americans, Spaniards, and from every country under the sun. The non-Catholic are almost entirely English and Americans. None are refused. And these are the parties to whom for the most part the three volumes of discourses which have been referred to were addressed. These audiences are generally appointed for midday. But the party to be received often has to wait a considerable time, which is in nowise the fault of the Pontiff or dependent on his will. All the time that he keeps them waiting is so much cut off from his own very restricted recreation hour, which follows the audience. But it is impossible to tell beforehand how long the business to be transacted with the Ambassadors, or with the heads of Congregations, or with the Bishops may detain him.

At the audience he usually walks down one side of the gallery, at the far end of which his red velvet and gilt arm-chair is placed, and back again to his

seat on the other side, so as thus to pass immediately in front of each person present, to some of whom he often addresses a few words. It is well known in Rome, but it may not be so in England, that the etiquette on these occasions is for gentlemen to wear ordinary evening dress, and ladies black up to the neck, no other head covering save a black lace veil, and no gloves. For the most part, his manner on these occasions is very cheerful, and many anecdotes are current in Rome of little incidents said to have occurred at the audiences of more mixed character. The general gist of them is such as to indicate a kindly, good-humoured, but essentially shallow nature. When receiving, he usually addresses to his visitors a few words from his seat, which are spoken in a voice audible thence throughout the long gallery. Rarely, when the assemblage consists of a mixed party of Catholics and Protestants, does the Pontiff ever touch on the sufferings and persecution to which the Church is subjected, and as rarely does he fail to do so when he has only those of his own flock before him. In either case he always concludes by giving all present his benediction. He also blesses, by one sole operation it is to be understood, for otherwise it would be work for many hours, all the

various articles which the people have brought with them for that purpose, rosaries, crosses, devout pictures, medals, and the like. The quantity of this ware, which is brought to be blessed, is wonderful. Even Protestants take advantage of their visits to his Holiness, to carry home something that will be valued by their Catholic friends. The other day the Pope spoke a few words, touchingly enough, of the speed with which his own eighty-five years had flown away, how they seemed like a dream when he looked back over the course of them, and how truly from his own experience he could warn his hearers that their own days would run past them, and away from them with a rapidity that would make the retrospect in any case wonderful, terrible if they were wasted or ill-employed. His Holiness vindicates his claim to his temporal sovereignty by at least the possession of one attribute, which has usually been considered as special to royal personages, a singularly accurate memory for persons whom he has once seen. The other day, on being revisited after a lapse of ten years by a non-Catholic American gentleman of no especial note, he referred to his former interview with him, and remarked on the number of the population belonging to the Methodist

connection in the district from which the gentleman came.

As soon as the audience of the day is at an end, and there is rarely a day without one, the Pope goes for his walk, the locality of which is determined by the state of the weather and by his own greater or lesser disposition for exercise. If the weather be unpropitious, and he is not inclined for much movement, he will go to the Sala Matilda, a large hall on the floor of the Vatican below that on which he resides, and take a turn or merely sit there awhile; or, if the weather be bad, and he wants a walk, he will take one in the vast galleries of the Vatican, which are of an extent capable of furnishing any amount of pedestrian exercise; or, if the weather be inviting, he will take a walk in the garden. Those very few persons who have permission to use the garden receive on those days a notice to the effect that during certain hours they must abstain from going thither. The walk which he prefers, and almost invariably uses, is a very lovely one. It is entered by the gate leading from the statue-gallery to the garden, and forms a terrace, sheltered to the north by a high wall, entirely clothed with magnificent orange-trees, overlooking a flower-garden at a

lower level, and across this commanding the finest, indeed I may say the only fine, near view of the dome of St. Peter's. At the farther end of this straight, broad terrace-walk, there is a tree immediately in front of the iron and wire gates of a large aviary, containing a numerous population of birds of no very rare or uncommon sorts, pigeons, and ducks, and fowls for the most part. Often Pius will stand at these gates for a few minutes and amuse himself with looking at his poultry. But beneath the tree which has been mentioned there are a few very common and uncomfortable-looking iron garden-seats placed in a sort of semicircle. And on one of these, always the same, the Pope sits, while the two or three familiars whom he has asked to accompany him in his walk, dignitaries of the Church almost invariably, Cardinals often, but not always, sit on the others and chat.

After the walk, at two or three o'clock, as the business of the day may have decided, comes the very simple and moderate dinner, eaten of course by the Pope alone at table. Both in eating and drinking he is very moderate; but likes that the small quantity of wine he takes should be of the best, and he prefers Bordeaux. When dinner is over he looks

at the newspapers, and perhaps goes to sleep in his chair over them. He by no means limits his reading to the Catholic or clerical organs of the press, but has the papers of all colours and of all parties. He rather specially, I am assured, is in the habit of looking over the "red" journals.

After his hour's repose after dinner, whether it be spent in indulging in a nap or in reading, he goes for another little walk if the weather be fine. Then, returning to his apartment, he takes some very small matter for supper, and after that sits with a few *habitués*, who come to see him, or with any Bishop from the country whom he may have asked for a little chat, then retires to his private chapel for his evening prayer, and is in bed by ten.

The Pope is not a good sleeper; and the attendants in the adjoining room, one or other of whom makes a point of being awake all through the night, frequently hear him praying, and very often singing in his bed, to while away the tedium of sleepless hours.

Such is the daily life of Pius the Ninth, and it will be admitted that it includes a degree of activity and an amount of labour very remarkable in a man of his age. It is occasionally slightly varied by the

holding of a Consistory, or the utterance of a more than ordinarily important allocution, involving the subsequent amusement of seeing all the chatter that it has occasioned in all the newspapers of Europe, much as boys watch the widening circles on the surface of a pond into which they have thrown a stone! More rarely he is occupied by the business, and all the circumstances attending the most important of all the acts, the doing of which is still left to the Holy Father—the creation of new Cardinals. But, as a rule, the days of the life of Pius the Ninth have been, for the last six years, very unbrokenly such as that above described.

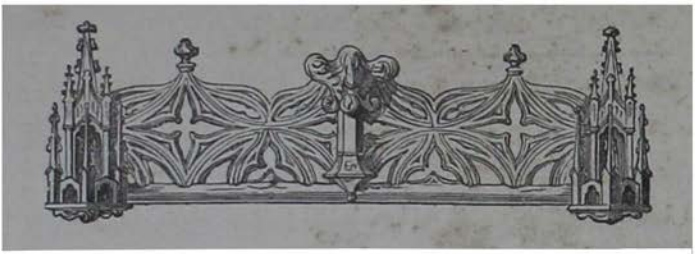
Nor is the tranquil and even flow of them disturbed by any of these incidents, whether great or small, which often act injuriously on the physical condition of the aged by giving a shock to the moral feelings. When, a few weeks ago, Cardinal Antonelli, who had been the Pope's friend and counsellor, and devoted servant for little less than thirty years, and whom he was in the habit of seeing every day, was dying, the people of the Apostolic Court were much afraid of the effect the tidings might have on the Holy Father. But their anxiety was quite needless, and all their solicitude thrown away. The

Pontiff heard the tidings that his old servant had breathed his last, in the rooms there immediately over his own, with the most good-humoured indifference. And within three hours of the death of the old Secretary wrote with his own hand the telegraphic despatch which was to appoint his successor.

But the Court was relieved from a yet more painful anxiety and alarm, when, not long after the death of the Secretary, the Pope's old cat died. He had lived with the Pontiff many years, and was the Pope's constant companion at dinner, never appearing in his master's presence at any other time. He always came in with the soup, sat gravely in a chair opposite the Pontiff till the latter had finished his dinner, then received his own portion from his master's hand, and took himself off till the same hour on the following day. And now poor old puss was dead! The people round the Pope feared that he might be painfully affected by the death of his old favourite—Popes have so few things to love! But to the great relief, surprise, and satisfaction of the entire Court, he did not seem to care a bit more for the death of the old cat than he did for that of the old Secretary. When he was told that his old favourite was dead,

he shrugged his shoulders and said, "One Pope dies! Make another!"

When the old Farnese, Paul the Third, who had attained much about the present age of Pius the Ninth, though at the conclusion of a papacy of only half the duration, turned his face to the wall, he died broken-hearted at the misconduct and ingratitude of his children. Pius the Ninth has been far too regular a man to have any children; but if he had had them by dozens, they could not have shortened his life, let them behave as they might! If Pius lives till he dies of a broken heart he will survive most of us yet!



CHAPTER IV.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE THIRD OF JUNE.—COINCIDENT "FESTA DI STATUTO."—CHANGE OF CIRCUMSTANCES SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE FIRST PLANNING OF PILGRIMAGES.—THE POPE'S DISCOURSES.—POPE'S FREEDOM IN THE EXERCISE OF HIS SPIRITUAL POWER.—MARCINI'S BILL FOR REPRESSION OF CLERICAL ABUSES.—PAPAL ALLOCUTION PENDING DISCUSSION OF THE BILL.—CIRCULAR OF CARDINAL SIMEONI.—THE PILGRIMAGES.—LABOUR UNDERGONE BY THE POPE.—ADULATION ADDRESSED TO HIM.—OFFERINGS BROUGHT BY PILGRIMS.—EXHIBITION OF PRESENTS.—POPE'S CHEERFULNESS.—PROBABLE CANONISATION.—SERVICES RENDERED BY HIM TO THE CHURCH.—TEMPERAMENT AND CHARACTER OF PIUS THE NINTH.

THE 3rd of June, 1877, was the fiftieth anniversary of the consecration of Pius the Ninth as a Bishop, and immense and world-wide preparations were made for the due celebration of the day. An enormous concourse of "pilgrims," gathering from all parts of the earth to offer their homage and congratulations to the Pontiff, who alone of all the long line has surpassed in the duration of his Pontificate that

attributed by tradition to St. Peter, was expected, in accordance with the arrangements made, to be assembled in the Eternal City on that occasion. It was feared, even, with not a little of misgiving by the more timid, and with a certain amount of anxiety even by the Italian Government, that the 3rd of June would not pass without serious disturbances. It was difficult to say, indeed, what the "pilgrims" could do to assist the cause they have at heart, even if there should be, as was at one time imagined, thirty thousand of them. But a street riot is easily begun; and it is undeniable that, if it should so have happened that two or three pilgrims should have been shot down in the streets of Rome by Italian soldiers, such an occurrence would have admirably suited the views and purposes of the rulers of Roman Catholic policy. Precautions were accordingly taken, which seemed to the civil authorities to be sufficient for the preservation of the peace under any circumstances. And there was at one time a talk of deferring, or anticipating, the "Festa di Statuto," the national holiday which is prescribed by law to be held on the first Sunday in June. It was feared that the simultaneous presence in the streets of two masses of people, each animated by sentiments bitterly hostile

to the other, might be dangerous. The 3rd of June has passed, however, and nothing whatsoever has occurred to disturb the peace of the Eternal City.

Subsequently to the planning of the pilgrimages in honour of this certainly very remarkable anniversary, however, circumstances occurred which gave to the celebration an increased importance, and imparted to it a political significance more accentuated than its projectors could originally have hoped. I have already spoken of the wonderful number of discourses which, during the whole period of his "captivity," Pius the Ninth has been in the almost daily habit of pronouncing. The number of those collected in the volumes I have spoken of in a former chapter must have been doubled since they were collected. Some of these were, of course, much more important than others, for they were spoken on every sort of occasion, from solemn harangues to the members of the Sacred College, to improvised addresses to little schoolgirls. The discourses of the former years of the "captivity" were carefully gathered and published. And, doubtless, the product in this sort of the latter years will also in due time be given to the world. The former collection,

amid the great mass of mere words, of course, calling for no remark, contained, on some of its pages, passages which were calculated to try in some degree the equanimity of the Italian Government. And every now and again in his later discourses, his Holiness, when led to refer to his own present position and the wrongs of the Church, not unnaturally, nay, almost inevitably, spoke words which civil governments, especially such as have to be on their guard against a pretender to the crown, are not wont to tolerate. In the solemn allocutions which his Holiness put forth on special and important occasions, this, as was naturally to be expected, occurred in a more marked degree.

To what extent was this freedom of seditious speaking to be tolerated? It had been promised to the Pope and to Europe, at the time when Italy was about to take possession of Rome, that the free and independent exercise of his spiritual power should be secured to him. It was a most imprudent promise, and was probably made with a very small amount of consideration as to the meaning of "spiritual power," and as to what the freedom of exercising it involves. Unquestionably it involves the right of saying and disseminating, by the press

or otherwise, whatsoever he may choose to say! And now the Italian Government is beginning to discover that this is a right which it is most inconvenient to permit him to exercise. A small amount of very ordinary consideration of the subject would surely have sufficed to suggest to the statesmen who made the promise in question, that this entire liberty of exercising his spiritual authority is what no civil government has ever found it possible to permit to the Pope. Nor will it be possible for the Italian Government permanently to do so.

Of course, the promises of the rulers of a country governed by an elective chamber are worthless, as the Pope himself has on more than one occasion pointed out. One set of men cannot engage the consciences of another body. And even less can it be supposed that one generation can bind those that come after it. It is, therefore, but little to the purpose to urge that any law restraining the Pontiff from publishing seditious matter, would be an infringement of the law of "the guarantees." Such a restriction is unquestionably an infringement of that law and of the promises made by it. But this was not the ground on which the most thoughtful of

those who objected to the attempt at legislation on this subject, unsuccessfully made by the Italian Cabinet in the winter of 1876, felt themselves bound to oppose it. The law introduced by Signor Mancini, the Law Minister of the Radical Cabinet, not only proposed to make penal the publication of ecclesiastical manifestoes of a seditious nature, from whatever source they might come, but created clerical offences in terms the vagueness of which would have made them, if the law had not become a dead letter, the instruments of the most intolerable tyranny. And the proposed law, passed in the Chamber of Deputies by a majority composed of men singularly incompetent and unfitted for the business of legislation, was rejected by the better sense of the Senate.

Pius the Ninth is reported to have received the tidings of this rejection with a heartfelt "Thank God!" But there is very good ground for believing that to a certain number of members of the Sacred College this rejection was a disappointment. And these men were, I think, wiser in their generation than the children of comparative light. The penalties which Signor Mancini's bill proposed to inflict on the printers and publishers of the Pope's seditious

speeches would by no means have availed to prevent their publication. Abundant candidates for the martyrdom, to be obtained by committing the offence, would have been forthcoming. The discourses in question would have been printed in Switzerland, and smuggled across the frontier by the hundred thousand. They would have been reproduced by scores of newspapers in France, Belgium, Switzerland, and even England. It would have needed a system of more than Chinese isolation and exclusiveness to keep such matter out. And the only result of the law would have been to attract a greatly increased amount of attention to the documents in question, and to have created a fictitious interest in, and appetite for them. On the other hand, the passing of the law would have put into the hands of the Clerical party one of those weapons which they know how to use with such admirable effect. It would have given them a cry! And the speeches and allocutions would have been published all the same.

While the matter was pending, the Pontiff pronounced a more than ordinarily violent allocution, which in fact was nothing less than an exhortation to all the Catholic Powers and Catholics of the world

to engage in a crusade for the destruction of the kingdom of Italy and the restoration of the Pope to his former position of a Sovereign Prince. The ordinary law regulating press matters would have amply justified the Government in stopping the publication of this inflammatory document. But the printing and circulation of it was in nowise interfered with. In fact, it would have been exceedingly difficult for the Ministry to have done so. For one of the objections most strongly urged against Signor Mancini's bill for the repression of clerical abuses was, that as regarded one very important part of it, it was unnecessary, seeing that the object it professed to have in view was already provided for by existing legislation. The boldness of the allocution in question, however; the fact that, as the Clericals of course put it, the Ministry was afraid to interfere with the publication of it; the very wide attention which had been drawn throughout Europe to the bill which the Chamber of Deputies had passed after a debate which was truly scandalous and disgraceful on the part of several of the more violent supporters of the ministerial measure; and lastly, a circular upon the subject, which Cardinal Simeoni, the Pope's Secretary of State, had addressed

to all the Nuncios at the various Catholic Courts, all contributed to give, as I have said, an increased *éclat* and significance to the anniversary of the 3rd of June, and to the pilgrimages performed in celebration of it.

For many weeks before the day to be celebrated statements of the numbers of pilgrims expected from the different countries of Europe were published daily. It was calculated by the Catholic organs that from twenty to thirty thousand might be looked for. There is no doubt that this number was greatly exaggerated. But many thousands have come and gone. But they were not here all at the same time on the 3rd of June, as it was at one time expected they would be. Perhaps it was feared that so great a concourse would be unmanageable even by their own ecclesiastical friends. Indeed, if the labour incidental to the reception of them by the Pontiff had not been spread out over a period much longer than it was possible for the greater part of the pilgrims to remain in Rome, it would seem impossible for so aged a man to have survived it. As it is, it seems truly wonderful that Pius in his eighty-fifth year should have gone through the amount of fatigue he has sustained. During the

greater part of May and the first week of June he has held receptions almost every day, and on some days many—one after the other. And on every occasion he has been expected to speak, and has spoken mostly at considerable length! Some of these receptions have been attended by scores only of persons, but many of them by thousands. And during the earlier portion of the time named, the aged Pontiff went through this labour under great suffering from sciatica. It was at no time true, as was so frequently asserted, that he was dangerously ill, or paralysed, or indeed ill at all save from rheumatic pains and sciatica. But the necessity of receiving and addressing daily crowds of strangers under such circumstances must have been very trying.

However, "the labour we delight in physics pain!" And the desire for admiration, approbation, and adulation which has been so marked a characteristic of Pius during his entire life, must truly have been satiated by such a tribute in that kind as has rarely been offered to any mortal. The terms in which the Pontiff was addressed day after day by his visitors, and in which his reception of them was chronicled by the organs of the clerical press, were

very frequently all but, if not altogether, such as reverential Protestants would deem fitting to be addressed to Deity alone. It seemed as if each new-comer was striving to outdo those who had gone before him in the outrageousness of his adulation. Certainly I should imagine that such a mass of flattery, and all but worship, had never before been addressed to a human being. Assuredly for once at least in his life Pius must have had enough to satisfy him of the incense he loves best of all things.

But the pilgrims from every country under the sun did not come to the papal footstool laden only with offerings of praise. All brought according to their means presents in cash and gifts of every conceivable kind. The sum total of the money offerings has been stated at various sums. But no one save the papal treasurer can be in a position to state the amount with any pretension to accuracy. Nor, indeed, can the account be yet finally made up; for at the time at which these lines are penned (9th June, 1877) the series of pilgrimages is not at an end. The cry is still they come! And none come empty-handed. Probably the entire sum may be reckoned at somewhat less than ten millions of francs.

More remarkable and interesting, however, is the collection of articles which have been brought to the Holy Father as presents in some instances from individuals, but in the very great majority of cases from bodies of persons banded together for the purpose. The whole of this wonderfully heterogeneous mass of articles has been collected for exhibition to the holders of tickets, very easily procured, in those vast galleries of the Vatican, which are known as the Galleries of the Maps. Assuredly a more extraordinary exhibition was never offered to the examination of the curious. Rich and poor, high and lowly, clerks and laymen, young and old, nuns and artificers, charity children and princes, the old world and the new, have contributed to bring together this vast mass of heterogeneous objects, the sole link of connection among which is the sentiment which has animated the donors. And assuredly the friends of the Papacy may point with some triumph to this singular collection, in which each object is labelled with the name, address, and quality of the donors as a proof that there is scarcely to be found a corner of the civilised world in which Catholic feeling strong enough to inspire self-sacrifice is not to be found.

Certainly, looking at the thing merely as a sight, so strange an one has rarely been seen. Of course the first thing that strikes one on entering is the predominance of ecclesiastical properties, comprising every description of the numerous articles needed for the sumptuous celebration of Roman Catholic worship. An almost endless series of copes and other vestments, all richly embroidered, and some of them miracles of art and splendour, lined the walls. There must have been many hundreds of them. Enormous quantities of linen for surplices and altar-cloths, ornamented with the finest lace that human fingers can produce, and still larger masses of less splendid linen intended to be distributed among the poorest congregations, loaded the tables below. Chalices, reliquaries, ostensories, thuribles, complete altar services, some, *chef-d'œuvres* of the goldsmith's art, and gorgeously ornamented with precious stones, many of solid gold, and all of them dazzlingly brilliant, were ranged in really almost countless numbers. In one place there were piled a stack of little canvas portmanteaux, each containing all the requisites for the celebration of the mass and intended for the use of missionaries. Among the ecclesiastical objects must be numbered immense

quantities of gaudily painted and ornamented wax candles and tapers. There were a great number of pictures of every degree of merit and demerit, of more or less religious character—among them one by Guido Reni and one by Van Dyck.

But among all this vast collection of church furniture, there were an infinite number of articles, of kinds far too numerous for any attempt to specify them, which had no relation to ecclesiastical matters. Piles of cheeses, sausages, bottles of wine in large numbers, articles of furniture, writing-desks, tables, of more or less artistic merit and beauty, were massed together without any principle of arrangement, except a geographical one, according to the countries from which they came.

There was the splendid gold chalice presented by the Duke of Aosta; a bishop's cross and ring in precious stones, sent by the Dukes of Nemours and Alençon; a magnificent piece of Gobelins tapestry, the gift of Marshal MacMahon; a poor necklace of coral beads and a pair of earrings, the gift of some poor peasant woman who had absolutely nothing else to give; and from the parish priest of Cognac three bottles of brandy, bearing respectively the

dates 1792, 1819, and 1827, being the years of the Pope's birth, ordination as a priest, and consecration as a bishop! A very notable idea of anniversary keeping, it must be admitted, has his reverence of Cognac!

Many manufacturers seem to have endeavoured to unite a stroke of worldly with the more avowed heavenly business of the occasion; and have sent splendid specimens of their wares, as they would to any mundane "exposition!"

Altogether, this Vatican exhibition is a most extraordinary one; and it is very improbable that the world will ever see its like again! Only for a few days, indeed, was it possible for the non-clerical world to see it at all. It was very shortly closed; and an announcement was put forth in the clerical organs to the effect that that measure had been necessitated by certain improprieties which had taken place. It is to be supposed that some of those admitted to visit the galleries were sufficiently base and unprincipled to express their hatred of the Church by damaging the Pope's private property.

Some little time ago, in the spring, those who had occasion to see the Pontiff reported that his manner was much changed; that the constant good humour

and cheerfulness which had characterised him in so marked a degree had disappeared; that he had become fretful and cross. The fact was that he was greatly suffering. And those who have ever made acquaintance with sciatica will not find it difficult to understand, even without being a Pope and eighty-five, that to be obliged to receive strangers, and constrained the while by the proprieties from manifesting any symptom of pain, under such circumstances is not conducive to genial amiability. But with the hot weather and the pilgrims, his Holiness seems to have become himself again. He is cheerful, gay even, full of jests and quips and cranks among his intimates, and inexhaustible in the talk he addresses to the unceasing series of "pilgrims," deputations, school children, bishops, parish priests, and even mere gaping heretic sightseers who come to him. Probably the cessation of this labour, and of the excitement and gratification of his vanity accompanying it, might go far towards ending his life. But there is no prospect of any such evil chance befalling him. And for all that is apparent, he may live yet some years!

I remember being told at the "Sagro Eremo," on the ridge of the backbone of the Apennines above

Camaldoli, that the recluses there held in great reverence the memory of a brother of the house, who had died about a hundred years ago, and was—whether by regular canonisation or only by local reputation, I know not—held to be a saint. And on inquiry respecting the merits of one among a society all of whom live in complete inaction, and in the practice of the most rigid asceticism, I was told, in a tone which implied that the information given was abundantly sufficient, that the holy man had lived as porter of the house to the age of one hundred and two! So that one may not only live down an evil reputation, as the phrase is, but live into a saintly one, by mere virtue of perduration!

There is little doubt that Pius the Ninth will be duly canonised. And though it would not perhaps be fair to represent that he has no claims to such an honour beyond those of the old Camaldolese porter, it is yet certain that he would not have been considered to have earned a place in the calendar if he had died twenty years ago. But if canonisation is to be considered, as probably it should be considered, to be the mede of service and utility to the Church, it must no doubt be admitted that many saints have deserved it less than Pius the Ninth.

His intellectual calibre is such as to enable him to believe with entire sincerity all that a Pope should believe, and beyond this—a rare qualification in any educated man at the present day—to accept in his own person with genuine conviction, and add to the field of Roman Catholic belief, new forms of superstition so gross, so earthly, so grovelling, as to be especially calculated for ecclesiastical use in an age when it has become necessary to restrict the Church's fold; to cast out all such as are made half-hearted by glimmerings of intelligence fatally mixed with aspirations after truthfulness; and to ruddle-mark the faithful flock with a symbol vouching each man's and each woman's acceptance of the Jesuitic "*perinde ac cadaver.*" For the tendency of the age is to separate Churchmen from non-Churchmen, not, as heretofore, in accordance with accidents of birth, education, and country, but in accordance with the mental temperament and intellectual calibre of each individual. And the ecclesiastical legislation of Pius has been, and will hereafter, in a yet greater degree, be incalculably useful in securing to the Church militant that accession of strength which is so often coincident with restriction in numbers, and in placing a gulf wide as that which separated Dives from Lazarus

between the Church's friends and the Church's foes.

Pius the Ninth has never been deemed by those who have known him best as layman, and priest, a lover or practiser of truth. But his untruthfulness is in nowise incompatible with sincerity in his theological belief. It is probable, on the contrary, that a mind greatly in love with truth for its own sake would be less capable of accepting, with that unquestioning acquiescence which is commonly called belief, such assertions and doctrines as many of those to which Pius has, doubtless without any conscious insincerity, given the authority of his affirmation.

It will have become sufficiently apparent to those who have read the foregoing chapters, that the temperament and character of Pius the Ninth are not marked by any tenderness of feeling or vividness or largeness of sympathy. He probably never loved any human being. But he is a genial and kindly man, as eupeptic people are, whose blood runs wholesomely and calmly in their veins; and as those more especially are whose happiness is so largely dependent, as his is, on the manifest approbation and applause of his fellow-creatures. There is no reason

to doubt that it is far more agreeable to him to confer benefits and spread happiness around him, than to do the reverse. But his beneficence is not beyond the reach of being affected by small resentments. He is not prone to forgive. That such is the case may be gathered from his conduct on sundry occasions of his public career; and the fact might be further illustrated by certain anecdotes, of too intimate a nature for the publication of them at the present date to be consistent with propriety. It is, perhaps, impossible for one so inordinately vain to be prompt to forgive offence. For the pain caused by it to the person offended must be in proportion to the strength of the feeling hurt.

And finally, to return to what has been so often set forth in these pages, vanity—or if the passion seem to be nobilitated by such phraseology, let it be called love of admiration and approbation—is the master passion of the man, and the key to his character. An ever hungry, never satiated craving for admiration—not such as can be satisfied by the consciousness of having secured the favourable verdict of his own and of future generations, but such applause as the actor covets, the present and visible clapping of hands, and loud manifestations of the

multitude—is the ruling passion, as of the youngster flaunting in the streets of his native Sinigaglia, so of the aged Pontiff spending his last strength in gathering in the tribute to it, offered by devotees from every quarter of the earth.

APPENDIX.

THE passage in which the proclivity of Pius the Ninth's mind to superstitions of a very gross and debasing kind has been spoken of in this volume, might be justified by many passages from the annals of his ecclesiastical administration. But perhaps the following translation of a document published in Rome, with the permission and approbation of the Holy Father, may be deemed sufficient for the purpose,

The paper in question is entitled, "A true letter of Jesus Christ sent by the hand of the Guardian Angel to a girl called Bridget, nine miles distant from St. Marcel in France, printed in letters of gold and found at the foot of a crucifix, where there was a girl, who for seven years had not spoken, and suddenly, on hearing the present letter, she spoke, and said three times, 'Jesus and Mary!' and thenceforward continued to speak, and died holily at the age of twelve years."

The letter runs as follows:

"On Sunday, which is an obligatory festival, go to Holy Church and pray to God to forgive you your sins. I have left you six days to labour and the seventh for rest. You ought on that day to attend the Holy Mass, and hear the Divine services and sermons, and give alms to the poor according to your means, so that you may be by Me made to abound in wealth. If in addition you will fast five Fridays in the year in honour of My five wounds, which I received on the Cross, I will grant to you many favours of those you shall ask of Me. All those who shall speak against this My holy letter, who shall assert that it did not proceed from My holy mouth, as also all such as shall keep it concealed and shall not publish it, shall be abandoned by Me. And all those who shall manifest it, and shall say that it proceeded from My holy mouth, I

will pardon * them all their sins, and they shall be blessed by Me eternally. Those, moreover, who shall make it known, shall have no malignant spirits about them, shall be free from lightning stroke, from tempests and scourges; and if any woman cannot be delivered of child, by putting upon her this My holy letter, and thrice reciting Ave Maria to the most Holy Virgin, she shall be happily delivered. All those who shall obey My holy commandments shall enjoy the holy glory of Paradise eternally. I received thirty blows on the mouth; and when I was near the house of Anna I fell three times; I had four hundred and five blows on the head, and the soldiers who conducted Me were three thousand two hundred and forty; and those who carried Me when I was bound were eight. The drops of blood which I shed were three millions and eight hundred'; and to that person who shall say to Me every day for three years continuously, two *Paters*, an *Ave*, and a *Gloria*, to equal the drops of blood which I shed on Mount Calvary, I will grant five favours—1st. Plenary indulgence and remission of all his sins; 2nd. I will not allow him to suffer the pains of purgatory; 3rd. I will grant him to be as a martyr who has shed his blood for the Holy faith; 4th. I will come down from Heaven upon earth to take his soul, when together with the souls of his relations to the fourth degree, even though they be in purgatory, I will carry them to enjoy the Holy glory of Paradise for eternity; 5th. The Blessed Virgin Mary shall go to assist the souls of those persons who shall carry this Holy letter about them for eight days before they die; and they shall not die of sudden death. Their house shall be free from all evil."

This is put forth by Pius the Ninth, A. M. D. G., and for the edification of the faithful! I think my case is sufficiently proved.

* I translate literally, keeping the imperfection of the sentence as in the original.

THE END.

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